FIVE SERMONS PREACHED UPON Severall Occasions;

Viz.

1. The Athenian Babbler, at *S. Maries* in *Oxford.*
2. Iacob *and* Esau, [illegible]ction *and* Reprobation, at *Pauls Crosse:*
3. The Arraignment of the Arrian, at *Pauls Crosse.*
4. Moses *and* Aaron, at *S. Maries* in *Oxford.*
5. Natures Overthrow *and* Deaths Triumph, at the Funerall of *Sir Iohn Sydenham* at *Brimpton.*

BY

H. Sydenham M. of Arts, and Fellow of *Wadham College* in *Oxford.*

LONDON,

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1637.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

HENRY, Lord DANVERS, Baron of DANCY, and Earle of DANBY; The glorie of both ages.

MY GOOD LORD,

THat *service* is most free of *insinuation*, which is so of *attendance*; whil'st others only *look* on your *vertues*, with your *fortunes*, and admire them, I both *weigh*, and *contemplate*, and so *honour* you more than they by how much a just *speculation* exceeds an outward and *partiall survey* of *men*, and of their *actions*. 'Tis my beleefe in *that* hath arm'd my resolution in this bold Tender of my *labours*, which though I acknowledge unworthy either of your *judgement*, or acceptance, yet the noble incourage-

ments and faire interpretations you have given *those* formerly deliver'd in your *eare*, have taught mee a confidence that you will entertaine *these* also offer'd to your *eye*, a *Iudge* more severe than the other, because more subtill, and (what is more) more deliberate; however, did I not beleeve they would passe the mercie of an *honourable* perusall, I should never have expos'd them to the Criticisme and Comment of a censorious *Age*, which undervalues *most* things, because they are *common*, and *many* things, because they are *good*. Though *mine* can lay no title to the *latter* in respect of their *frame* and *structure*, they may of the *subject*, that is *sacred*, and should at least *invite* acceptance, if not *inforce* it. As they are (*most noble Lord*) vouchsafe them entertainment; they were publisht at the importunities of some *private*, but *reall* friends, to whom they addresse themselves only for *survey*, to you (now) for *patronage*, *they* may *incourage* my proceedings, but *greatnesse* must *protect* them; *your* countenance they beg, which if you daine to afford, you no lesse crowne *them*, than the *Author*, who in all humilitie devotes himselfe

Your Lordships unfained honourer

and loyall servant,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

TO

THE HOPEFVLL EXPECTATION, BOTH of his Name, and Countrey,

Sir HVGH PORTMAN, BARONET, *Thin.*

MY HONOVR'D SIR:

HOwever *the publishing of other Labours may entitle me to* Ostentation, *this cannot but touch upon* Humilitie, *since I have exposed that to the* Eye *onely of a* Nation, *which I had formerly to the* Eare *of a* world, *a* University; *a* World *more glorious than that which involves it, by how much it exceeds the other,*

in her Judgement, *in her* Charitie, *and* (*what is noble too*) *her* encouragement; *of the latter, I had some taste in the delivery of* this, *when I was a fitter object of her Pittie, than approbation, whether shee reflected on* Minde, *or* Bodie, *my* Discourse, *or* Me. *But that was the extension of* her *goodnesse, nothing that my weaknesse could expect or point at, but the* Mercie *of my* worthier *Friends, amongst whom, as you were then pleased to approve it, so now vouchsafe both to peruse and countenance; in that you shall glorifie the endevours of him, who lookes no higher than the honour of this title,*

Your Friend that

ever serves you,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

THE ATHENIAN BABLER.

Text. Acts 17. Verſ. 18.

Some ſaid; What will this Babler ſay?

THe life of a true Chriſtian, the Apoſtle cals a continuall warfare; The life of a true Apoſtle, the Chriſtian cals a continuall Martyrdome; Each act of it hath a bloody ſceane, but not a mortall; A few wounds cannot yet terminate his miſerie, though they begin his glorie. There are divers tough breathings required to the Celeſtiall race; many a bleeding ſcarre to the good Fight,

ſweatings, wreſtlings, tuggings numberleſſe to the Crowne of Glorie. *Paul* had long ſince begun the courſe and finiſht it, and can ſhew you a platforme of all the ſufferings; the ſcrowle is ready drawne with his owne hand, you may peruſe it if you pleaſe, 2 *Cor.* 11. where crueltie ſeemes to be methodicall, and torment accurate, perſecution tumbles on perſecution, as a billow on a billow, this on the necke of that; one ſeales not the truth of his Apoſtleſhip, many ſhall. Hee was but now at *Lyſtra*, where hee cured a Cripple, and hee is ſtoned for it; by and by at *Philippi* hee caſts out a Devill, and hee is ſcourged. Here's not all; ſufferings of the bodie are not load enough for an Apoſtle; if hee love his Lord and Maſter (as hee ought) hee muſt have ſome of reputation too; hee that hath been ſo long acquainted with the laſh of the hand, muſt now feele that of the tongue too: Buffettings are not ſufficient for Diſciples, they muſt have revilings alſo for the name of *Jeſus*. *Paul* therefore ſhall now to *Athens* (the eye of the learned world and ſeat of the Philoſopher) where he meets with language as perverſe as the Religion, and amongſt many falſe ones, findes no entertainment for the true: The mention of a *Jeſus* crucified, ſtands not with the faith of an *Athenian*, nor a ſtorie of the reſurrection with his Philoſophie. The Altar there conſecrated to the *unknowne*, will not ſo ſoone ſmoake to the *jealous God*. The glorious Statues of *Mars* and *Jupiter*, cannot yet bee tranſlated to the forme of a *Nazarite*. 'Tis not a bare relation can plant Chriſt at *Athens*, it muſt bee reaſon, the ſinew and ſtrength of ſome powerfull argument, and to this purpoſe *Paul* was but now in hot diſputation with the *Jewes* there in the *Synagogue*. By this time hee hath diſpatcht; for loe yonder where he ſtands in earneſt diſcourſe with the people in the *Market?* The tumult is inlarged, and the *Athenian* already tickled with the expectation of ſome noveltie; Anon, the Gowne beſets him, and

Verſ. 23,24,25, 26,27,28.

Act. 14. v. 10. 19.

Act. 16, 18. 23.

Act. 17. 23.

Act. 17. 7.

and all the rigid Sects of the Philosophers; as the throng increases, so doth the Cry; On that side, Censure,—*Some said he was a setter forth of strange Gods*; on this side, Prejudice,—*And some said, what will this Babler say?*

In the division of which tumult wil't please you to observe mine.

1. *The persons prejudicate*, maskt here under a doubtfull Pronoune, *Quidam*—*some*, —Τίνες ἔλεγον,—*some said.* 2. *The persons prejudic'd*, cloathed in a terme of obloquie and dishonour, σπερμολόγος—*Babler*, ——*What will this Babler say?* Thus the field stands pitcht, where wee may view the parts, as the persons, in a double squadron, no more. *Paul* and his Spirit in one part of the *Battalio*; *Epicures*, *Stoickes*, with their Philosophie, in the other, the rest are but lookers on, no sharers in the conflict. Here's all; All that's naturall from the words, and not wrested; For (mine owne part) I'le not pull Scripture into peeces, digging for particulars which are not offred, for that were to torment a Text, not divide it. I affect nothing that is forc'd, love fluentnesse, and (what the majestie of this place may (perchance) looke sowre on) plainnesse. However, at this time, I have a little endevoured that way, that those of *Corinth* and *Ephesus* may as well heare *Paul*, as these of *Athens*. I come not now to play with the quaint eare, but to rub it, nor to cherish the dancing expectation of those *Athenians* which cry—*Newes*, *Newes*,——but to foile it. Act. 17.8.21. And this is well enough for a *Babler*, that's the doome at *Athens*, mine, now, and justly too. I may not expect a greater mercy of the tongue thence, than an Apostle had, especially when a *Stoicke* reignes in it. Whose Religion (for the most part) is but snarling, and a maine peece of his learning, Censure; But let's heare first what hee can say of the *Babler*, next, what the *Babler* will say. I begin with the persons prejudicate, Τίνες ἔλεγον, *Some said.*

Some?

Pars 1.

* Verſ. 17.

Some? what ſome? The front of this verſe preſents them both in their qualitie, and number; *Philoſophers.* What, of all Sects? No.—* *Certaine Philoſophers*——of old, σοφοὶ, ſince, by the modeſtie of *Pythagoras* a little degraded of that height, as if it trenched too neere upon ambition, to entitle themſelves immediatly unto Wiſdome, but to the love of it, and therefore now φιλόσοφοι, yet ſtill of venerable eſteeme among the *Athenians*. *Aretius* calls them their *Divines*; *Brentius* their *Patriarchs*, and their *Prophets*; Each word they ſpake was as canonicall as Text, and they themſelves both Maſters of it, and of the people. Of theſe there were divers Sects, two (here) ſpecified, *Epicures*, *Stoickes*; theſe were extremes in the rules both of their life and tenent; the *Epicure* in the defect, the *Stoicke* in the exceſſe. Betweene them both were the *Peripatetickes*, and the *Academicker*, better mixt and qualified in their opinion, ſtooping neither to the looſeneſſe of the one, nor the auſteritie of the other; but of theſe no mention in the Text. The *Areopagites* (intimated in the foot of this Chapter) were not *Philoſophers*, but the *Athenian* Judges, ſome ſay; others, their *Conſuls*, or their *Senatours*: In the ſtreet of *Mars* (where the *Athenians* brought *Paul*, and inquired of his doctrine) was their Tribunall, where they ſate upon their more weighty affaires, and, of old, arraigned *Socrates*, and condemned him of impietie. But I have no quarrell to theſe, ſince I finde they had none to the Apoſtle; The *Stoicke* and the *Epicure* are the ſole incendiaries and ring-leaders of the tumult, whom the very Text points out in this, —τινες ἔλεγον—*ſome ſaid*,—men as oppoſite in their opinion, as to the truth; one ſeated his chiefe happineſſe in the pleaſure of the Bodie, the other in the vertues of the minde. The *Epicure* attributed too much to voluptuouſneſſe, the *Stoicke* to the want of it; that would have a vacuitie of griefe both in minde, and ſenſe; this taught his —ἀπάθειαν—a nullity

In cap. 17. Act.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

Acts 17. 22.

Gen. not. ibid.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

of

of all affections in either. These are the broad and common Differences in their opinion, and such as here tread opposite to the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*; but there are others more cryticall and nice, which not finding touch'd by the pen of the Holy Ghost, I presum'd to enquire after in their owne Schooles, in *Zeno's Stoa* for one, and in *Epicurus* Garden for the other. A travell somewhat unnecessarie for *Athens* amongst *Philosophers*, where they are daily canvast. Yet (perchance) there may bee—*some Nobles here of* Berea, *and chiefe women of* Thessalonica, *which have received* Paul *with all willingnesse*—which know them not. I shall bee onely your Remembrancer, their Informer. Verſ. 17. Verſ. 4.

Epicures (for I begin with them, they have the precedence in the Text) challenge both name and pedegree, from *Epicurus* the Founder and Father of that Sect. Hee was borne at *Athens*, seven yeeres after the death of *Plato*, where he lived, taught, dyed. Hee wrote 300. Bookes in his owne Art, without reference to a second pen, and (what is strange) observation; no sentence, no precept of Philosopher, but his owne; those of *Democritus*, *de Atomis*, and of *Aristippus*, *de voluptate*, *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* cals his. His deportment and way of carriage, in matters of Moralitie, was very remarkable. *In Parentes pietas, in Fratres beneficentia, in Servos mansuetudo.* ('Tis the triple commendation *Laertius* gives him,) And in lieu of these and the like vertues, his Countrie afterwards erected many brazen Statues, and *Athenæus* wrote certaine Epitaphs to the perpetuall embalming both of his name and honour. Hee was one it seemes more irregular in his tenent, than his life, abstemious he was, moderate, in his repast, in his desires,—*Oleribus utens exiguis*, *Hierome* sayes, and hee confesses himselfe in his Epistles, that Temperance was his feast, the lowest staire of it, Parcimonie: *Aqua contentus & polentâ*. His place of teaching was in Gardens, and the Lib. 2. hist. Lib. de Epicur. A Ferosic in locum. Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genalium Dierum, cap. 11.

manner not onely to the capacitie, but the disposition of his hearer.

1. The whole Fabricke of his precepts hee builds upon this double ground: The one on Mans part, that hee is composed of a double substance, a Bodie and a Soule, and both these mortall; yea, the Soule vanisht sooner than the Bodie; For when the Soule is breathed out, the Bodie yet remaines the same, and the proportion of parts perfect. *Anima mox ut exierit veluti fumus vento diverberata, dissolvitur*; But the Soule is no sooner separate than blowne away, like smoake scattered by the winde. So Saint *Augustine* relates the opinion in his Tract, *De Epic. & Stoic. 5. cap.* On this foundation was raised their great opinion, that Mans chiefest happinesses consisted in the pleasure of the Bodie. *The rest of that was the end of all Blessidnesse; For to this purpose doe wee all things, that wee may neither bee disturbed nor grieved,* ('tis *Epicurus* owne Doctrine.) Yet every pleasure is not so magnified, as that of the Pallate by superfluitie, of the Bodie by effeminateneſſe; *But, when after a long toleration of sorrow a greater pleasure ensues, when the Bodie is no more beaten with griefe, the Minde sent ſt and free from all waves of perturbation, there was the true Happinesse. Hee was blessed that enjoyed those delights in present; future, they neither beleeved nor cared for, Death was the slaughterman of all*: And therefore *Seneca* tals the Schoole of the *Epicures*; *Delicatam, & umbraticam, apud quas virtus voluptatis ministra.* For if the Soule also perisheth with the Bodie, the dirge and *requiem* that thy sing, is *Edè, Bibe, Lude*, Eat and drinke, for to morrow we shall die; and after death what pleasure? And therefore wee finde their usuall *Epicedium*, ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, *Death is nothing to us, for what is dissolved wants sense, and what wants sense is nothing to us. For if Man bee composed of Bodie and Soule, and Death bee the dissolution of both, the burthen of their song runs instantly*; *Cùm simus, non est mors,*

In Epist. ad Herodotum.

Senec. lib. 4. de Benefic.

Lib. 3. Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. cap. 24.

mens, cum autem mors est, non summus; so *Sextus Empiricus*: Moreover, they would have the soule a kinde of bodie, otherwise (say they) *it would neither do nor suffer. Incorporeum*, with them, is all one with *Vacuum*; and therefore, *the Soule* (they said) *was composed of Atomes, and when the Atomes in a man were dissolved, then the Saule died*, as *Epicurus* himselfe in his Epistle to *Herodotus*.

The other foundation is on Gods part; for the *Epicure* grants there is a God, but denies his Providence; howbeit, under a glorious colour ——*Deum ad Cœli cardines rebolvulare, & nulla tangi mortalium cura*, as if forsooth, it would not stand with the majestie of the world, to regard what is done in those sublunarie parts, and so make God (as *Tertullian* complaines) *Otiosum, & in exercitum neminem in humanis rebus*, ——haply conceiting it might detract somewhat from his delight and pleasure, to molest himselfe with the care of this nether world. Above all things this moved him most, —*Homines religiosos*,—that the most religious men were most of all afflicted, whereas those which did either wholly neglect the Gods, or serve them but at their pleasure, came into no misfortune, or at least no misfortune like other men. And in fine, *Ipsa etiam Templa fulminibus conflagrari*,—— hee observed that the Temples also raised for the honour of the Gods, and dedicated to their service, were oftentimes burnt with fire from Heaven. Out of which premisses, the silly Heathen gathers this desperate conclusion: *Surely the Almightie walketh in the height of Heaven, and judgeth not; Tush, God careth not for those things.*

2.

Gualt. in locum.

In Apol. adversus gentes, cap. 24.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genalium Dierum, cap. 11.

Stoicks (so derived from *Stoa* where *Zeno* taught, the master of that sect) were of a more sowre and contracted brow; their severitie drew their name into a proverbe, *Stoicum supercilium, gravitas Stoica*: their Precepts were for the most part but a Systeme of harsh and austere

austere Paradoxes. *A wise man is then blest, when under the greatest torments.* Metellus *lives not more happily than* Regulus. *A wise man is free from all passions. Hee is a foole that doth commiserate his friend in distresse: Mercie and Pitie are diseases of the minde, and one with the species and perturbations of griefe, mentall sicknesses disturbe no wise mans health. Hee can neither erre, nor bee ignorant, nor deceive, nor lye. Hee is alone to bee reputed rich, a Master of his owne libertie, a King, without sinne, equall to God himselfe; Hoc est summum bonum, quod si occupas, incipis Deorum socium esse, non supplex,* it is *Seneca's* Stoycisme, in his 31. Epistle. In all vertues they held a paritie, and so in sinnes too, *Hee no more murthers that kils a man, than hee that cuts off a dogs necke.* Touching God and the nature of him, they strangely varied. Some thought him—*an immortall living Creature, a perfect rationall and a blessed*; others granted him a *Being and Providence*; but this Providence they vassall to their *Stoicall Fate*, and make Gods government not free and voluntarie, but necessitated and compelled. *Ut Deus ipse fati necessitate constrictus cum Cœli machina violenter ferretur,* (so *Calvin.*) Touching Man, they taught that his chiefest happinesse was placed in the mindes vertue, which opinion though it shew faire and glorious, tends but to this——*Quemvis mortalem felicitatis suæ artificem esse posse,* (sayes *Bulinger.*) Every man should bee the contriver and squarer out of his owne happinesse; and thus weake man is hereby blowne up with a proud confidence, that being vertuous he should be adorned with the spoiles of God,——*Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedat Deum, ille naturæ beneficio, non suo sapiens est.* I forbeare to translate the proud blasphemie, it is *Seneca's* in his 53. Epistle. But me thinkes this vaunting *Stoicke* might easily have beene taken downe by his owne Principles, for aske but any of them, how long their soule shall enjoy that supposed happinesse: *Tully* makes answer for them,

Tull. 5. de Finibus & 1. Academ.

Lypsius in manuduct. ad Stoicam Philosoph.

Tull. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Tull. lib. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Diogen. Laert. in vita Zeno. lib. 7.

In 17. cap. Act.

In locum.

them, ——*Diù mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant*——; Like long-lived Crowes, they last out some yeeres after the bodies Death; but by their owne confessions grow old continually, and dye at last; and then wherein may the *Stoicke* bragge more than the *Epicure*? In this, little. They both held, *the soule was of it selfe a bodie*; the *Stoicke* did extend it a little further, and then obnoxious to corruption too. And yet *Antipater*, and *Possidonius* (chiefe members of that Sect) said, the Soule was a hot spirit, for this made us to move and breathe; And all soules should endure till that heat were extinguisht, *Cleanthes* said, but *Chrysippus*, onely wise mens. Thus some are as giddy in their opinions, as sottish; others, as detestable, as giddy; one dotes on the world, and would have it to bee—*Animal rationale*,—The universe must have a Soule, that immortall, and the parts thereof, *Animantium animæ*. A second fals in love with Vertues, and would have them to bee *glorious living Creatures*; but this foole *Seneca* lashes with an——*O tristes ineptias, ridiculæ sunt*, in his 113. Epistle. A third adores the Starres, and would have them *nourisht*, *the Sunne from the Sea*, *the Moone from the lesser waters*. A fourth growes salacious, and hot, and would have a *communitie of wives to wise men*, *of Strumpets to the residue*. A fifth, yet more devillish, will have a *libertie of Bed from the Father to the Daughter*, *from the Mother to the Sonne*, *from the Brother to the Sister*, *and so backe againe*; and to make all compleatly heathenish, (and I tremble to breathe it in a pulpit) *A Sonne may participate of the body of his live Mother*, *and eat the flesh of his dead Father*, ἀσχρουργεῖν, *detestabile*; Cries *Sextus Empericus*, ——*Zeno approbat quod apud nos Sodomitæ*,—in his 3. booke *Pyrroniarum Hypotypωsiων*, Cap. 24.

5. De Finibus.

Laert. lib. de Epicur.

Sextus Emper. Pyrron. Hypol. cap. 24. lib. 3.

Thus with as much brevitie as I could, I have traced out the principall positions of these divided Sects. Worthy ones no doubt, to bandy against the sacred

Fundamentals of an Apostle, yet if it now please you to follow them, —— *Estoa, & hortis, in Synagogam*, —— From their Gallery and Garden where they taught, into their Synagogue, you shall overtake them there all flocked together about Saint *Paul*, and (as the Text describes it) *encountring* him. Here is just matter for observation, if not for wonder. *Epicures*, *Stoickes*, men which jarre as much as any that beare the name of *Philosophers* can doe amongst themselves, are readie (nevertheless) to meet in a tumult, and joyne forces against an Apostle, strange, did wee not know that the wisdome of this world were enmitie against God, and that —— *Christ unto the Jewes a stumbling blocke, unto the Grecians foolishnesse*. What the ground was which should occasion this assault, Saint *Augustine* conjectures to bee (and it is not repugnant to the drift of the Text) *Quid faciat beatam vitam?* What might make a man most happie? The *Epicure* hee answers; *Voluptas corporis*, the pleasure, but with this limitation, the honest pleasure of the bodie. The *Stoicke* hee saith, —*Virtus*,—The vertue of the minde; the Apostle replies, ——*Donum Dei*, it is the gift of GOD: *Lyra* addes, that from thence the sequele led them to the Resurrection. For the *Epicures* joy could last no longer than his subject; his blisse must dye with his bodie; and the *Stoickes* foresaw not the Soules immortalitie, and therefore could not promise everlasting happinesse. But the Apostle hee preacheth a Resurrection of bodie and soule, and by that Eternall life, and so by consequence everlasting Happinesse through Christ, both of Soule and Bodie. This seemes to have beene the subject of their Dispute, but their Arguments I can by no meanes collect; Belike they were so silly, that they were not thought worthy to bee enrolled amongst those more noble Acts of the Apostles, only their impudence, that is so notorious that it may not bee omitted. For, on what side soever the victorie goes, theirs

Acts 17. 17.

1 Cor. 1. 23.

Calvin. in locum

Aug. Tract. de Epicur. & Stoicis, cap. 7.

Lyra in cap. 17. Act.

Acts 17. 18.

theirs is the triumph; the erle runnes with the *Athenian*, the Philosopher hath non-pluſt the Divine, and the Apoſtle *babbles*. Thus the wicked have bent their bow, and ſhot their arrowes, even bitter words, bitter words againſt the Church, and her true members in all Ages. The naturall man led on by the dull light of reaſon, making Philoſophie his Starre, endevours with thoſe weake twinklings, thoſe leſſer influences to obſcure the glory of the greater light, that of Divine truth; ſo it was in the firſt dawne and riſing of the Church. *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the great Magicians of *Egypt*, withſtood *Moſes* working miracles before *Pharaoh*. But all the ſpels of Magicke with their blacke power, never wrought ſo miſchievouſly againſt the Church as the ſubtill inchantments of the Philoſopher. Chriſtianitie never felt ſuch wounds, as from the Schoole of the *Athenian*. The *Seminarie* of the wrangling Artiſt; the *Epicure*, *Stoicke*, *Platoniſt*, they were Philoſophers, that's enough; they not onely ſtrugled to oppoſe Fundamentals of Faith, but to deſtroy them. Every age of the Church, and almoſt every place of it will give us a world of inſtances; one *Alexandria* affords an *Ætius* and a *Demophylus* againſt Chriſt; one *Conſtantinople* a *Macedonius*, and an *Eunox* againſt the Holy Ghoſt; one *Epheſus* an *Anthemius*, and a *Theodore* againſt the Virgin *Marie*; one *Athens* (here) an *Epicure*, and a *Stoicke* againſt *Paul*; Nay, the ſophiſtrie of one perverſe but nimble Diſputant, hath coſt more lives than are now breathing in the Chriſtian world, and opened ſuch a ſluice and Arch thorow the bodie of the Eaſterne Church, which was not ſtopt againe almoſt in the current of three hundred yeeres, when downe it blood ran ſwiftly from the butcheries of *Valens* and *Conſtantius*, and the limbes, the thouſand limbes of ſlaughtered Infants ſwam with the violence of the Torrent, even then when Chriſtianitie groaned under the mercileſſe inventions and various tortures

tortures of the *Arians* Massacre and Persecution. Philosophers were the first *Patriarchs* of that Heresie, and hence I suppose was that Edict of *Constantine*, that as a badge and character of their profession, they should bee no more called *Arrians*, but *Porphirians*, the venomous brood of their cursed Master, and one that then blew the coale to most combustions of the Primitive Church; For, at *the Councell of Nice* (the place, and meanes ordained by that good Emperour for the suppression of *Arrius*, *Anno Christi* 325.) some, if not of his name, yet of his profession, (for they were Philosophers) trouped thither in droves and multitudes, not onely to oppose the Bishops, but to upbraid them. *Odio inflammati quod superstitiosa Gentilium religio antiquari cæperat*,— as *Russinus lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. And before that (in the Apostles time) about the yeere of Christ 75. they went about from Citie to Citie with this pretext onely to reforme publique misdemenours, and to that purpose had certaine Sermons to the people, for rectifying their Conversation in morall carriages, and so seemed industrious to reduce them to a better forme, but the maine project was to confront the Apostles doctrine, and establish them more immovably in the former superstition of the *Gentiles*: thus did *Dyon*, *Apollonius*, *Euphrates*, *Demetrius*, *Musonius*, *Epictetus*, *Lucian*, and others, as *Baronius* in his first Tome 737. *pag.* nay, the very dregs of them (saith the Antiquarie) the *Cynicke*, and the *Epicure*, so violent (here) against *Paul*. *Hos præ cæteris infestos sensit Christiana religio.*—These were the Heathen *Familiarits*, the chiefe Souldiers and speare-men against the Christian Faith, when at *Rome* the sides of that Religion were strucke thorow with their blasphemous declamations, *& petulantium eorum calumniis & dicteriis miserè proscindebatur*, the same *Baronius* in his second Tome, *ag.* 154. Thus all violent oppositions of Christian truth had their first conception in the wombe of *Philosophy*;

Socrat. l. 1. *c.* 5.

Sozom. lib. 1. *cap.* 17.

Ad annum 75.

Baron. ad annum 164.

Philoſophy; The Fathers which traffick't with the tumults of thoſe times, ſaid in effect as much, — *Omnes hæreſes ſubornavit Philoſophia*, — *Marcion* came out of the Schoole of our *Stoicke*; *Celſus*, of the *Epicure*; *Valentinus*, of that of *Plato*; all hereſies were the flourifhings and trimmings of humane Learning. *Inde Æones, & formæ neſcio quæ, & Trinitas hominis apud Valentinum.* Thence thoſe *Æones* (I know not what *Ideas*,) and that triple man in *Valentinus*, he was a *Platoniſt*. Thence *Marcions* quiet God, it came from the *Stoickes*; And the Soule ſhould be made ſubject to Corruption, — is an obſervation of the *Epicures*, and the deniall of the Reſurrection, the joynt opinion of their whole Schooles. And when their — *Materia prima* is matcht with God, it is *Zeno's* Diſcipline, and when God is ſaid to be a fiery Subſtance, *Heraclitus* hath a finger in it, thus *Tertullian*. Saint *Hierom* keepes on the Catalogue — *inde Eunomius præfert*. Thence *Eunomius* drew his poyſon againſt the Eternitie of the Sonne of God, For, *whatſoever is begotten and borne, before it was begotten, was not.* Thence *Novatus* blockes up all hope of pardon for offences on Gods part, that he might take away repentance and all ſuit for it, on ours. Thence *Manicheus* double God, and *Sabellius* ſingle perſon; and to be ſhort, — *De illis fontibus univerſa dogmata argumentationum ſuarum rivulos trahunt*: — *Menandrians*, *Saturnians*, *Baſilidians*, *Ammonians*, *Proclians*, *Julians*, and the reſidue of that curſed Rabble, had from thence their conception, birth, nouriſhment, continuance. Hereupon the great Doctour of the *Gentiles*, writing purpoſely of their Wiſdome, alleageth no other reaſon why they were not wiſe unto Salvation, but the *wiſdome of this world. The world through wiſdome knew not God*, 1 Cor. 1. 20. And therefore he preſcribes the *Coloſſians* a — *Cavete ne vos ſeducat*, — Take heed leſt any man ſpoile you through Philoſophie and vaine deceit. *Fuerat Athenis*, Saint *Paul*

Lib. de Præſcrip. adverſ. Hæreſ.

Comment in Nahum ad cap. 3.

Iohan. Baptiſt. Chriſpus de Ethnic. Philoſ. caute legend. Quin. 1.

Coloſſ. 2. 4.

had beene at *Athens* (saith *Tertullian*,) and knew by his often encounter there, how desperately secular and prophane Knowledge wounded Divine Truth. Insomuch, that the Father is of opinion, *Unâ hac sententiâ omnes hæreses damnari*, in his fift Booke against *Marcion*, 19. Chapter.

De Præscript. adverſ. Hæreſ.

But whilest wee goe about to vindicate our Apostle, let us not be too injurious to the *Philosopher*; The *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* had their drosse and rubbish, yet they had their Silver too, which had past the fornace, tryed and purified enough for the practice of a Christian. Though they had Huskes and Acornes for their Swine, yet they had Bread for Men. It was not their Philosophie was so pestilent, but the use of it; our Apostle reprehends not the true, but the vaine; no doubt there is that which is Sanctified, as well as the Adulterate, otherwise the Fathers would never have stiled Divinitie, *Philosophy*; That is a glorious ray sent downe from Heaven by the Father of Light; This but strange Fire some *Prometheus* stole thence, and infused into a peece of babling clay which circumvents weake men, and under a shadow and pretext of Wisdome, oftentimes carries away probabilitie for truth. And it was this latter that inflamed the youth of *Augustine* to the studie of it; but he was soone cool'd when he descried the other; then — *Nomen Christi non erat ibi*, — in the third of his *Confessions*. And the words — Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, *were not now to be read in the great Peripatetick*; — Insomuch, that that former asseveration of his — *Philosophos tantùm extuli, quantùm impios non oportuit*, — he recants in the first of his Retractations; and against the *Academickes* he is at once zealous and peremptory. — *Hujus mundi Philosophiam sacra nostra meritissimè detestantur*, — Our sacred Discipline utterly detests Philosophie; But what? *The Philosophie of this world*, which I know not whether it hath more convinced or begotten errour, or improved us in our know-

Cap. 4.

Cap. 1. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 19.

knowledge, or ſtaggered us. And therefore *Juſtin Martyr*, after his Converſion from the Philoſopher to the Chriſtian, complained he was deluded by reading *Plato*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of *Carpocrates*, and *Epiphanes*, who reading in *Platoes Common-wealth*, that —*Wives ought to be common*, taught inſtantly their owne to follow that vertuous principle, it is *Baronius* Quotat. in his ſecond Tome, *pag. 76.* Thus the Gold which *Salomon* tranſports from *Ophyr*, hammered and poliſhed as it ought, beautifies the Temple; but if it fall into the hands of the *Babylonians*, they worke it to the ruine of the Citie of God.

In Col. cum Trypho. Iudæo.

Ad annum 120.

And by this time *Paul* hath paſt his encounter, and begins now to ſuſpect the cenſure of the Philoſopher. He that enters the *Synagogue* at *Athens*, is to expect nimble Eares, and ſharpe Tongues. If he Diſpute, he muſt hazard an abſurditie; if he Preach, he *babbles*. What hee doth on the one ſide leſſe affectedly, and plaine, the *Epicure* wreſts inſtantly to the cenſure of a *Bull*, what more tierſly, and polite; on the other, the *Stoicke* to a *ſtrong Line*. Thus betweene the acuteneſſe of the one, and the ſuperciliouſneſſe of the other, *Paul* ſhall not ſcape his laſh; but the comfort is, except that the Parallel (here) exceeds the patterne, our Criticks are not numberleſſe; onely, Τινες — *ſome ſaid*; and theſe ſome (too) very probably, but *Philoſophers*; that is, — *Gloriæ animalia & popularis auræ atque rumoris venalia mancipia*, as *Hierom* characters them. Creatures that will be bought and ſold for popular applauſe; and when thoſe factions are thus met, what is the iſſue? All they leave behind is but a meere *ſaying*, — Τινες ἔλεγον, — *ſome ſaid*, — and not ſaid onely of late, but done too, done violently againſt *Paul*, not onely at *Athens*, in the *Synagogue*, but in the hill of *Mars* too, the place of their conſultation, where if the rude *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* cannot cry him downe enough at *Corinth*, *Jewes* ſhall riſe againſt him, and bring

Acts 17. 22.

him to the judgement ſeat before *Gallio* the chiefe Deputie, *for doing things otherwiſe than the Law*; but maugre all their ſpight, it was found (ſaid the Text) but a,—*cavill of names and words*,—and he is diſmiſt the Tribunall with conſent of the Judge, and little glorie to the Perſecutor: The ſtory you may finde in the 18. of this Booke, the application neerer home, thus. There is an out-ſide auſteritie, which lookes grim upon offences, and pretends ſtrangely to publike reformation; but the heart is double, and the deſigne baſe, when it is not out of zeale to the common cauſe, but envie to the perſon. There are ſome which can harbour cleanely an inveterate grudge, and like cunning Apothecaries, guild handſomely their bitter pils; but when occaſion of revenge is offered, like wind that is crept into the cavernes of the earth, it ſwels and ſtruggles, and ſhakes the whole maſſe and bulke till it hath vent, which not finding cloſe enough by their owne perſons, they ſet their Pioners a digging, and their Moles are heaving under earth, thinking to blow up all unſeene. There is no malice ſo deſperate as that which lies in ambuſh, and with her fangs hid, that project is ever mercileſſe, though the ſtroake miſcarrie.

Acts 18. 5.

Beloved, if *Athens* be thus an enemie to *Athens*, and will nurſe up Snakes in her owne boſome, and Vultures for her owne heart, what can ſhe expect from the lips of Aſpes, and venome of ſharpe ſet Tongues, which cry of her as they did ſometimes of *Jeruſalem*,—*Downe with it even to the ground?*—*The Virgin daughter is become an Harlot*, the rendevouz of the *Epicure*, the *Synagogue* of Lewdneſſe, *the Pap of Exorbitancie*,—Τίνες ἔλεγον,—*Some ſayd it*. Some, that not onely went out from us, but were of us too, but whileſt here little better than profeſt *Epicures*, at *Rome* (lately) bold *Stoickes*, and in a beardleſſe auſteritie, cry downe the Diſcipline of *Athens* in open Senate; There are ſome ſo ambitious of the thing called *Honour*,

Honour, (indeed but a meere tympanie and ayre of true Honour) that they will venture for it thorow the jawes of Periurie, forgetting the loyaltie they owed to their ſometimes Mother, and the fearefull engagements made her by way of oath, for the vindicating of her honour; but theſe have *ſaid*, and had they ſaid truly, it had beene in ſuch a high injuſtice, and in ſonnes too broadly diſcovers their little truth of affection, and leſſe of judgement. As for thoſe ignorant cryes the monſter Multitude caſts upon *Athens*, here, ſhee hath made the object, both of their ſcorne and pitie. The wounds, the unnaturall wounds from her owne *Nero* ſo touch our *Agrippina*.

And now the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke have ſaid, ſaid* and done what they can, againſt *Paul* and againſt *Athens*; you have heard their violence, pleaſe you now turne your attentions from the *Philoſopher* to the *Divine*, and heare —*What the Babler will ſay.*

What will this Babler ſay?

A God, at *Myletum?* at *Lyſtra*, *Mercurie?* and at *Athens*, a *Babler?* Sure mens cenſures varie with the place, and as the Clime is ſeated, ſo is the opinion: Had they ſteept all their malice and wit in one headpeece, and vented it by a tongue more ſcurrilous than that of *Rabſhekey*, they could not have prophaned the honour of an Apoſtle with a terme of ſuch barbarouſneſſe and derogation. *Babler*; A word ſo foule and odious, of that latitude and various ſignification in the originall, that both Tranſlators and Expoſitors have beene plunged ſtrangely and divided, in the apt rendring it in a ſecond Language; to omit the vulgar ones of — *Nugator*, *Rabula*, *Garrulus*, *Blaterator*, — as of thoſe which follow

Pars 2. Acts 28. verſ. 6. & Cap. 24. 12.

Heſichius. ὁ φλυαρος. — *Leonardus Aretinus.*

follow the heele and tracke of the letter meerely; others, which more closely pursue the Metaphor, give it us, by — *Seminator-verborum*, — a sower of words; others — *Semini-verbius*, — a seeder of them; a third sort, — *Seminilegus*, — a gatherer of seeds, — and this latter seemes to kisse and affie neerest with the nature of the word σπερμολόγος, an *Atticke* one, (sayes *Caietan*) metaphorically applyed (here) and hath reference to those σπερμολόγοι, certaine Birds (*Aretius* tels us) so called, — ἀπὸ τῦ τὰ σπέρματα αἰαλόγειν — from gathering of seeds, or — ἀπὸ τῦ σφέρειν τὸν λόγους — from sowing of speeches, — though this latter derivation affect not some, as doubly *peccant*, in the Etymon and the Metaphor; for then λογοσπόρος had beene more genuine, so *Beza*. Birds they were of vile esteeme amongst the *Athenians*, use-lesse, neither for food nor song, — *Sed garritu perpetuo laborantes*, — so continually chattering, that they did racke and perplex the eares of all that heard them; in so much, that it grew proverbiall amongst the *Attickes*, that hee that was loud in his discourse, or impertinent, or profuse, was instantly — σπερμολόγος, which seemes to sound one with that σπερματολόγος *Athenæus* touches, — πέτεσθαι σπερματολόγοι — quoted by *Erasmus*. The first (for ought I reade) that ever made use of the word in this disgracefull way was *Demosthenes*, and he flung it upon *Æschines*, who being an *Athenian*, dropt it (belike) afterwards amongst some of the Philosophers, and a *Stoicke* takes it up, and bestowes it here on an Apostle. It was well shoulder'd from the *Philosopher* to the *Divine*; but mee thinkes it should not sticke there. *Babling* ill becomes the lips of the *Levite*; and it cannot hang truly upon that tongue which hath beene toucht with a coale from the Altar; and sure Justice cannot put it on us, it must be malice, or prejudice, or both, and both have done it, not onely on us, but that great Apostle *Paul* himselfe, though choicely verst in all wayes of learning, a knowne

Beza in locum, Vetus lectio.

Erasmus in locum.

Caietan in loc.

Aretius in loc.

Beza ut supra.

Athenæus citatur ab Erasmo in loc.

Arctius & Erasmus in loc.

a knowne Scholler, a profest Disputant, a great Doctor of the *Gentiles*, brought up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, one that had done so many miracles to the conversion of many, astonishment of all, yet he cannot passe an *Athenian* without his lash, a *Philosopher* without his quip, — where the Gowne is so frequent, hard baulking the Criticke; *Livie* will not like *Trogus*, nor *Caligula*, *Livie*; *Athanæus*, *Plato*, or a third *Athanæus*; *Tully*, *Demosthenes*, or the *Lypsian*, *Tully*; so many fancies, so many censures, — no avoyding them at *Athens*. Nay, were *Paul* a second time to arrive it, he might yet perchance meet with an *Epicure* or a *Stoicke*, would have a fling at him with his *Quid vult Seminilegus iste? What will this Babler say?* And this venome towards *Paul* swels not onely at *Athens*, but at *Dirbe*, and *Lystra*, and the chiefe Cities of *Lycaonia*; scarce one in a Kingdome but would jerke at a *Paul*; and if he chance to come before *Felix* the Governour, some black-mouthed *Tertullus* will be bawling at the barre, readie bill'd with a false accusation, — *This man is a mover of sedition, goes about to pollute the Temple, a chiefe maintainer of the Sect of the Nazarites.* — Thus secular malice (thorow all ages) hath opposed the true members of the Church, and if it cannot disparage the honour of their title, it will spightfully plot the traducement of their honour, — *Up thou Bald-pate, Up thou Bald-pate*, children can cry at *Bethel*; — and, He is factious, he is unconformable, he is a *Babler* at *Athens*, is the popular and common *Vogue*. Here is a large field offered mee, thorow which I might travell, but this is not my way, it is too trodden; every Hackney rodes it, I have found out as neere a cut, though the passage may seeme more stony and uneven; thither bend I, where I shall shew you, how in Divine matters wee may be said to *babble*; how in Secular; in either how not: The *Symptomes* of that *Lip-disease*, the danger, the judgement on it, the cure. Let the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke*, (awhile) lay

Acts 24. 5.

2 King. 2 23.

lay by their cenſure, and heare, now — *What this Babler will ſay?* —

Hooker, lib. 5. Eccleſ. Pol. *Speech* is the verie image, whereby the Minde and Soule of the ſpeaker conveyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him that heareth. The Sterne and Rother of the Soule, which diſpoſeth the hearts and affections of men, like certaine notes to make up an exact harmony. But this muſt be ſoft and gentle then, not overſcrued; It is with Speech, as it is with Tunes, if keyed too high, racke no leſſe the Inſtrument than the eare that heares them, when thoſe which are lower pitcht make the harmony both full and ſweeter; your tumid and forced language harrowes the attention, when the facill and flowing ſtile doth not ſo much invite applauſe, as command it; it is a gaudy, but an emaſculate and weake eloquence, which is dreſt onely in a pompe of words, and glories more in the ſtrength of the *Epithete*, than the matter; this is the *Body*, the other but the *Garment* of our diſcourſe, which wee ſhould ſuit as well to everie ſubject, as occaſion; ſometimes more liberally, ſometimes more contractedly, leſt we be ſaid to *babble*, — for it is true what *Archidamus* told the Orator of old, — They which know how to ſpeake well, know alſo their times of ſilence. — And (indeed) to ſpeake appoſitely and much, is not the part of one man, I am ſure, not of a wiſe man. — *The words of him which hath underſtanding, are weighed in the Balance.* — Marke — weighed in the Balance. — Here is deliberation of ſpeech, evenneſſe — *Pone Domine cuſtodiam ori meo*, — was the prayer of *David*, — ſet a watch before my lips. And in the Law of *Moſes*, the Veſſell that had not the covering faſtened to it was uncleane; and therefore the inner parts of a foole are reſembled to a broken veſſell, which hath neither part entire, nor covering, he can keepe no knowledge while he liveth, *Eccluſ.* 21. 14. Hereupon thoſe more nobly bred amongſt the Romanes, learned firſt to hold their peace, and afterwards

Hecatus.

Eccluſ. 21. 25.

Pſal. 141. 3.

Plutar.

to

to ſpeake. — For, *Undè illi cura cordis* (ſaith *Bernard*) *cui ne ipſa quidèm adhùc oris circumſpectio?* Hee is an ill treaſurer of his owne thoughts, that keepes not the doores of his lips ſhut; and that heart is never lockt faſt upon any ſecret, where a profuſe tongue layes intereſt to the Key. *De triplici Cuſtodia: lingua. man. cent.*

And therefore Nature hath provided well in fortifying this member more than any part of the *Bodie*, ſetting a garriſon of the ſtrong and ſtout men about it, *Eccleſ.* 12. doubly intrenching it with lips and teeth, not ſo much to oppoſe a forraine invaſion as to allay mutinies within, for the tongue is an unruely member; and ſides much with the perverſneſſe of our will; and therefore Reaſon ſhould keepe ſtrict Sentinell upon it, and as well direct, as guard it. Nature hath proportioned us a double eare and eye to a ſingle tongue, and Reaſon interprets inſtantly — *Wee ſhould heare and ſee twice, ere wee ſpeake once.* And indeed our tongues ſhould follow our ſenſe (ſayes *Auguſtine*) and not our will, and the Father puts the foole handſomely upon him, — *Qui non priùs verbum ducit ad linguam rationis, quàm educat ad linguam oris.* — *Ad Fratres in Erem. ſerm. 2.*

Let Reaſon (ſaith the Sonne of *Syrach*) goe before everie enterprize and counſell to everie action, to everie vertuous action, (beſides the latter of theſe) the Philoſopher allowes a double Adverbe, — *Scienter, Conſtanter.* — So that every diſcreet deſigne muſt have beſides Reaſon, Knowledge, Counſell, Conſtancie; Reaſon and Knowledge, the pole and card to direct it; Counſell, Conſtancie, to ſteere and ballace it. Hence it is that the tongue of a wiſe man is in his heart, and where the heart of a foole is, no ignorance ſo womaniſh but tels you. Eccluſ. 37. 16. *Ariſtotle Eluc. lib. 3.* Eccluſ. 21.

So that the obſervation of S. *Bernard* comes ſeaſonably here, — *Non perſonam tibi velim ſuſpectam eſſe, ſed linguam, præſertim in ſermocinatione communi,* — In common talke we are not to heed the perſon ſo much as the *Bernard ut ſup.*

tongue, for by the *babling* of that wee may rove at the weight or weakneſſe of the Maſter; for commonly he that nothing but talkes, talkes nothing, nothing of bulke or ſubſtance, ſhels onely and barkes of things without their pith or kernell.

To avoid then this diſeaſe of *babling* and profuſe emptying of vaine words, the Diſciples were preſcribed, — their — *Habete ſal in vobis*; — and ſalt (you know) was commanded of old, not onely to Men, but to *Sacrifices* and *Words*. That to words (not ſavoured aright) S. *Auguſtine* cals, — *Sal infatuatum ad nullum condimentum*, — it ſeaſons nothing as it ſhould doe, everie thing reliſhes amiſſe it toucheth. For the *Babler* doth not meaſure words by their weight, but by their number, neither regards he what he ſpeakes, but how much; Thus whiles he labours to perſwade the eare, he wounds it, and to invite his hearer, he torments him. In the Leviticall Law, the man that had — *Fluxum ſeminis*, — was uncleane; — And *Gregorie* turnes the Allegorie on the diſpencers of holy Myſteries. — Gods Word is the Seed, the Preacher the Sower of it; or, as *The* Father hath it on the Parable, — *Cophinus ſeminantis*, — the Seedeſmans basket, — If he be then — *Incautè loquax*, — unpremeditately *babling*, — *Non ad uſum generis, ſed ad immunditiam ſemen effundit*, — and ſuch an one in Primitive times was called — *Semini-verbius*, — the Father tels us in the ſecond part of his *Paſtorals*, 4. Chapter. And no doubt he that ſowes overmuch by the Tongue, ſhall ſeldome fructifie, except the ſeed be choice and orderly diſpoſed, Speech being *the more exquiſit communication of Diſcourſe and Reaſon*, which as it ſhould not be too courſely open, ſo not involved; Hence the *Athenian* compared it to a rich peece of Arras drawne out in varietie of Stories, which diſplayed, opened both delight and wonder, but folded up, neither; For, it is with Speech, as with ſome Aromaticks and perfumes, which in the maſſe and roll ſmell little, but

Matke 9.

Levit. 12. 13. Coloſſ. 4. 6.

Ad Fratres in Erem. ſerm. 2.

Auguſt. in Parab. ſeminan.

Greg. lib. 2. Paſt. cap. 4.

Charron. lib. 3.

Themiſtocles.

but beaten abroad fill the roome with fragrancie. Matter wound up in obscuritie of language growes to the nature of a Riddle, and is not so properly Speech, as Mysterie; Things that hammer onely on our eares, not our intellectuals, are no more words, but sounds, meere —*babling*—aire (onely,) beaten with distinctlesse and confused noyse, nothing of substance in it for matter, or for forme; And the man that affects such inarticulatenesse, heare how *Gregorie* playes upon, — *Ego solertiæ nomine admiror, ne dicam, stultitiæ.* A wise man (sayes the Philosopher of old) when he openeth his lips, as in a Temple wee behold the goodly similitudes and images of the Soule. — And indeed that Eloquence that is made the object of our sense and intellectuals, carries with it both majestie and imitation, when that which runnes in a mist or vaile, Censure for the most part, sometimes, Pitie. Let the *Babler* then that thus speakes in a cloud, — *Pray that he may interpret*, 1 Cor. 14. 13. it will require a Comment from his owne industrie; others are too dull to undertake a taske of such an endlesse travell. It is a preposterous way of interpretation, when the Glosse growes obscurer than the Text; Sermons which were first intended for the illumination of the understanding, are at length growne like those answers of the Oracles, both intricate and doubtfull, they will require the heat of a sublimated braine, either to apprehend their raptures, or to reconcile them. But why at *Athens* such prodigies of Learning? Such monsters of affectation? Why this elaborate vanitie? This industrious *babling?* Let it no more touch the gravitie of the *Tippet* or the *Searlet*, as fitter for a Deske than a Pulpit, and a lash than a reproofe. But soft *Stoicke*. Let me not be censured here too hastily a *Babler*. I am not so much a friend to the slovenly discourse, as to loath that which hath a decent and modest dresse; words apt and choyse, I hate not, onely those tortured and affected ones; I preferre

Nazian. in Præfat. Apol. Socrates.

1 Cor. 14. 13.

Saint *Auguſtines* golden Key before his woodden, though this may unlocke Myſteries as well as that; yet would I not give way to the kick-ſhawed diſcourſe, where there is commonly more ſawce than meat; or, as *Quintillian* ſpake of *Seneca*, — *Chalke without Sand*, — more of luſtre than of weight; It is the well-woven and ſubſtantiall peece taskes mee, yet that too, not without the flouriſhings and intermixtures of diſcreet language. For it is here as it is in Needle-workes, where wee allow light colours, ſo the ground be ſad. The Breſt-plate of Judgement, which *Aaron* wore, was made with em-broydered workes, and in the Ephod, there were as well diverſities of colours, as of riches, — Blew ſilke, and Purple, and Scarlet, and fine Linnen. — That then of *Epiphanius* is worthy both of your memorie and imitation, — whoſe workes were read of the ſimple for the words, of the Learned for the matter. — So, — hee that will not runne the cenſure of a *Babler*, muſt have as well his deepes for the Elephant, as his ſhallowes for the Lambe; Knowing that ſome are tranſported with heat of fancie, and others with ſtrength of judgement, and it is in the choice of either, as in that of Stuffes, which ſome buy for the roundneſſe and ſubſtance of the threed, others for the lightneſſe of the colour. Matter not cloathed in handſomeneſſe of words is but duſted treaſure, and like ſome Gardens, where there is fatneſſe of earth, no Flower. Your embelliſht phraſe without ſollidneſſe of matter, but — *Copioſa egeſtas* (as Saint *Auguſtine* ſtiles it) a gawdie povertie, and like ſome unhappie tillages, where there is more of Poppie and Darnell, than good Corne; But where the materials are cleane, the language keem'd, there is the workmanſhip of an exact Pen-man; If they are both well mixt and cemented, there is a choyce maſter-peece, *Apelles* himſelfe hath beene there.

Exod. 28. 15.

And however, the diſcourſe that is ſo bruſht and ſwept, others

others have thought too effeminate for the Pulpit, yet, in ſome it is no way of affectation, but of knowledge. High fancies cannot creepe to humble expreſſions, and the fault is oftentimes in the prejudice or weakneſſe of the receiver, not in the elaborateneſſe of the Pen-man. Sermons are not to be meaſured by their ſound, or the haſte and uncharitableneſſe of a dull organ, the Eare is a deceitfull one, full of winding and uncertaine doores, and often carries falſe meſſages to the Sence; the Eye as it is a more ſubtill organ, ſo a more certaine, and though that be ſometimes deceived too when it is not maſter of the diſtance, yet upon ſtricter peruſall of the object, it gives you uncorrupt intelligence, when words paſſe (for the moſt part) by our eares like tunes in a double conſort, which we may heare, not diſtinguiſh.

And yet notwithſtanding, though at *Athens* amongſt Philoſophers, this polite way of diſcouſe may be paſſable, and draw on ſometimes approbation, ſometimes applauſe; yet at *Epheſus* (where *Paul* is to encounter Beaſts) it is but meere *Babling*; And to what purpoſe thoſe loftie varieties, in ſprinkled Congregations? Raptures and high viſions are for *Ceſarea*, when *Paul* is to ſpeake before *Agrippa*, thinner exhortations will ſerve the Brethren at *Puteoli*. — And when all thoſe deſcants and quaverings of the plauſible and harmonious tongue ſhall loſe their volubilitie and ſweetneſſe, and forget to warble (as the time will come (the Preacher tells us) *when all thoſe Daughters of Muſicke ſhall be brought low*) the plaine ſong muſt take at laſt, that which is ſet to every capacitie and eare; and yet will afford you as well her varieties of ſatisfaction, as delight; to the judicious ſolid fluentneſſe, to apprehenſions lower-roofed, wayes more trodden to aduiſe, and comfort; to the weake and Souleſicke, the ſtill voice; to the obſtinate and remorſeleſſe, *lowder ſounds*; perhaps this thunder-clap may breed a ſhower, that ſhower, a Sunne-ſhine. Teares and Com-

Acts 26. 13.

Acts 28. 14.

Eccleſ. 12.

fort are the succeſſory children of reprehenſion, ſometimes the twinnes; Let the ſword of the Spirit then cut both wayes, but more to reproofe, than menacing; maſter thy Vineger with Oyle, ſo thou ſhalt not ſo much ſharpen the heart of the Sinner, as ſupple it; ſome grow more refractary by rebuke, and ſome more flexible; For, it is with the word of a Preacher, as it is with Fire, which both mollifies, and hardens Steele, according to the varietie of heats. If we derive onely from one Throne coales of fire, and hot Thunderbolts, we kindle deſpaire in him wee teach, not reformation; It is the temperate and gentle fire ſparkles into zeale, when that which is too high and turbulent, growes at an inſtant both flame and aſhes. *Let the Righteous ſmite me friendly* (ſayes the Kingly Prophet) *but let not their precious halmes breake my head.* — I allow reprehenſion a Rod, but not a Flaile, a hand to laſh the tranſgreſſions of the time, not as ſome doe to threſh them.

Pſal. 145. 5.

Paul will preſcribe the ſpirituall combatant a Sword, but not a Speare; except he had the *Grecians*, — which would both wound and cure. *Marah* may have bitter waters, but *Gilead* muſt have balme too for the broken heart. Where ſinnes are full kern'd and ripe, I denie not a Sickle to cut them downe, but the ſinner, whether as Corne for the Barne, or Chaffe for the fire, I leave to the diſpoſall of the great Harveſt-man.

Achilles.

1 King. 19. 11, 12.

In the apparition of God to *Eliah*, on mount *Horeb*, (you know the Text, and therefore gueſſe at the alluſion) A ſtrong winde rent the Mountaines, and brake in peeces the Rocke, before the Lord; but the Lord was not in it; and there was a great Earth-quake and a Fire, but the Lord was not in it. And in thoſe winds and fires, and earth-quakes which are both ſeene and heard on our *Horeb* here, the Lord oftentimes is not in them, for then the mountainous and rockie heart would be cleft aſunder, now it is unbattered and rib'd with Adamant proofe

proofe against perſwaſion. Knowing that theſe are but *Aden* of Thunder, counterfeit thunder too, and there is a God that rules the true, his hot bolts and coales of Fire they quake and tremble at, not thoſe fire-workes, and ſquibs and flaſhes here below, which ſpleenaticke men fling about (as they thinke) to terrour, but they returne by ſcorne. It is true (ſayes *Bernard*) — *Sermo eſt Ventus*, but it is not alwayes, — *Ventus urens*, — *Surge Aquilo, veni Auſter, perfla hortum meum, & fluant Aromata illius*, — Ariſe O North, and come O South (the one (you know) is moiſt, and the other cold) yet both of theſe muſt blow on the garden of the Spouſe that the Spices thereof may flow out, *Cant.* 4. 6. In the Song of *Moſes*, did not doctrine drop as the raine? and Speech ſtill as dew? as the ſhower upon Hearbs? and as the great raine vpon the Graſſe? I confeſſe, on *Sinai* once there was a thicke Cloud, Lightning and Thunder, and the mountaine ſmoaked; but the Text ſayes, — *The people fled from it.* But on mount *Tabor*, the Cloud was bright, the Sunne cleare, and a Voice heard in ſtead of Thunder, and then the Diſciples cry, — *Edificemus Domine*, Let us build here.

Bernard. de triplici Cuſtod.

Cant. 4. 6.

Deut. 32. 2.

Exod. 20. 18.

Mat. 17. 2, 4, 5.

Amongſt the numberleſſe Gods the Heathens had, and the divers wayes of Sacrifice they appeaſed them with, the Romanes had their — *Hoſtiam Animalem*, — in which the ſoule onely was conſecrated to God, — the Hoſt they offered muſt be pure and choiſe, not of Bulls or Swine, as creatures fierce and uncleane, but of Kids and Lambs, more innocent and milde, and of theſe too, ſuch as were not lame, or diſeaſed, or had — *Caudam aculeatam*, or, *Linguam nigram*, — ſayes my Antiquary. You ſee ſtings in the taile, and blackneſſe in tongue are exempted here and thought unfit for this ſacrifice of the Soule.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib 3. cap. 12.

Let the virulent *Babler* leave the Letter and take the Allegory, and he hath applied; — For venomous & foule language

language doth exasperate and obdure even those which the modest and gentle pierces. Let Billowes beat against a Rocke, they fall backe without wounding it, yet if moderate and gentle drops fall on a stone, they hollow it, not by violence, but the often Distillation. Sheepe (sayes *Nazianzen*) are not to be governed by rigour, but perswasion; all those impulsions of necessitie and force, carry with them a shew of tyranny, and hold neither with Nature nor observation, — *Non secùs ac planta per vim manibus inflexa*, — sayes the Father. Bend a Plant (and it is with most men as it is with plants) it turnes againe. There was never disposition, not cowardly and base, that violence could worke upon. Ingenuitie if it be not alwayes voluntary, it may be led sometimes, but never drawne; And therefore *Peter* feeds his flocke, not by constraint, but willingly, and (as your common *Bablers* never doe) *not for filthy Lucre, but a readie minde.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 2. And indeed it is this *filthy* — *Lucre* — hath occasioned so many *Bablers* in our Church, those that will say any thing for the inhauncement of their profit, the improving of their Stipend; Brey at Universities, for a morsell of bread; gives blowes against Learning, make scarres in the face of Knowledge, cry downe the use of Arts, or what is curiously strung in secular Learnings, abandon them from the lips of the Preacher, and confine him onely to a sacred dialect without intermixture of Prophane Knowledge, or sleeke of humane Eloquence; No marrow of the Father, no subtiltie of the Schoole-man, no gravitie of the Philosopher, no policie of the Historian; thereby depriving the Church of varietie of Gifts, and manacling and pinning the Holy Ghost to a defect of all outward ornaments, as if that wind which bloweth where it list, were forbade to breathe any where but in their new-fangled and braine-sicke endevours.

In Præfat. Apolog.

Idem, Ibid.

1 Pet. 5. 2.

Hence it is that the distribution of holy Mysteries growes

growes so to contempt, the dispencers of them entitled to termes of obloquie and scorne, exposed to the Paraphrase and Comment of the giering adversarie. Our *Athens* disparaged, Learning of no price and value, Preaching, *babling*, and the maine reason and inducement, why the whole body of Arts thus reeles and wavers. I have at length met the *Babler* I desired to grapple with, and we must exchange a few blowes ere we part, in which I shall bee home without much flouriſh. *Stoicke*, once more forbeare. Stand aloofe till we have past *this* Duell, then let thy censure fall, as the wounds doe, justly. Suppose wee then a man harnessed and clad with all the glories and habiliments of Nature, besides the rich dowrie and treasure of Art and Knowledge, yet say I not that *this* man, without a supernaturall light from the Scripture, is able to utter those Mysteries as he ought, either in their strength or decencie. Doubtlesse, the best of ours, either for depth of Knowledge, or sublimitie of Invention, or accurateness of Composure, or cleanness of Zeale, are comparatively meere *Bablings*, and fall many bowes short of those inspired ones of old; neither are they Gods word (sayes *Hooker*) in the same manner that the Sermons of the Prophets were, no they are ambiguously termed his Word, and are no more the same, than is the Discourse the Theame, or the Line the Rule, by which it is drawne; yet have they a peculiaritie both of vertue and successe; strange prerogatives over the sudden passions and affections of most men, whom they not leade onely, but entangle, and not fetter barely, but intraunce; in a word, they reigne over us, and establish a violent empire and command over our verie soules. Divinitie we confesse the Soveraigne Ladie and Queene of all Sciences, Arts (if you approve the stile) her Maids of Honour. Are we not sacrilegious then to the state of Soveraigntie when we rob it of her traine? The chiefest complement of Greatnesse is the retinue, take away her equi-

Lib. 5. Eccles. Polit.

Doct. *Cowels* Defence, in the Chapter of Preaching.

page you disnoble it. Barre sacred Learning of the attendance of that which is secular, Arts, Sciences, you disrobe it, strip it of its glory. Certaine truths in her cannot fully be discovered without some measure of knowledge in them all. The Axioms & principles of Humanity though they a little runne by those of Divinitie, yet they doe not thwart them, there may be difference, no contrarietie, no not in those things which seeme to carry a shew of contrariety. Reason our Mistresse tels us, -*Verum vero consonat*, -and Truth stands diametrically opposed to Falshood, not to a second truth; for, -*Vero nil verius*, - Philosophicall truths challenge the same sowrce and pedegree Theologicall doe, the same fountaine, and Father, God, and are of the like Truth, though not of the like Authoritie.

Divinitie (saith *Basil*) is the fruit, Arts as the leaves, and leaves are not onely for ornament but succour.

Hence flowes that admirable consent and harmony between the naturall patefactions of God, and the supernaturall; for, from God is both Reason and Scripture, and Reason being obscured by Sinne, and blemished by her many errors, the Scripture doth unscale, and beames againe, and so sets her free from her former obliquities and digressions, the light of Nature being dimmed (saith *Ambrose*) was to be cleared by the Law, the mists of the Law by the *Gospell*, so that Grace doth not abolish Nature, but perfect it, neither doth Nature reject Grace (saith *Augustine*) but embrace it. Nay, my Author (and I have gleaned I confesse some few eares of Corne from his more plentifull crop) quotes *Tertullian* too very appositely, (and 'tis like *Tertullians* both for the marrow and the reach.)-God first sent Nature to be our Schoolemistresse, being after to send Prophecie, that thou being first the Disciple of Nature, mightest afterwards the more easily be induced to beleeve Prophecie. We may not think then the *Ipse Dixit* of the *Philosopher*, or the weightie depositions of prophane Authors, to be meere *Chimeraes*, fruitlesse Fancies, *Bablings* of no consequence; though some of them were not true Visions, yet they were not all starke

Amand. Polan. li. 2. Logic. fol. 213.

De Fuga saeculi, cap. 3.

Aug. in Ps. 101.

Theolog. Logic. pag. 200.

ſtarke Dreames, *Paul* then would never have confuted the Idolaters of *Athens* with their owne Text, —*Some of your owne Poets have ſaid it*; There may be much Hay and Stubble amongſt them, but there is ſome Gold, and precious Stones; try them, if they endure not the touch, throw them by as metals too courſe and droſſie; but if there be rich Oare mixt with veines of earth, why not ſeparated? Why not purged by the fire of Gods word? Why may not this ſtranger to *Iſrael*, her head ſhaven, and the haire of her eye-browes cut, be admitted into the Sanctuary? If one *Copernicus* be troubled with the Vertigo, and would have the earth runne round as his head does, ſhall a whole Sect of *Ariſtotelians* be liable to a diſeaſe of giddineſſe? Though a *Stoicke* or an *Epicure* oppoſe *Paul*, yet at *Athens* there were *Academickes*, and *Peripatetickes*, Philoſophers too, without their tumult, and for ought the Text caveat's me to the contrary, they were his Converts too. And it is evident that the Apoſtles, and after them the Fathers, made Arts the chiefe weapons againſt the enemies of the Church, for as ſome opinions would be convinced without humane Learning, ſo others affections would not be perſwaded without that eloquence, thus they wounded the Hereſies and Apoſtaſies of their times, when the Revolted *Iulian* was impelled to ſay; —*Wee are ſtrucke thorow with our owne Darts.* —All Science whatſoever is in the nature of good; and good is good, whereſoever I finde it. *Upon a withered branch* (ſayes *Auguſtine* to his Donatiſt) *a Grape ſometimes may hang, ſhall I refuſe the Grape becauſe the ſtalke is withered?* If on a tempeſtuous ſhore I meet by chance a rich peece of Amber, or richer Pearle, amongſt oare, and ſhels, and froth, and ſands, ſhall I refuſe either for the ſtench of the place or the companions? I have ſeldome read of any thing but a fooliſh Cocke that refuſed Treaſure, though on a dunghill. I know Heathens had their ſlime and mud, and ſome

Acts 17. 28.

Doct. *Covell.*

Auguſt.

Gregor. Nazian.

Auguſt. de Baptiſt. contra Donatiſt. li. 6. ca. 2.

of their ſtreames ran impurely, yet they had their Cryſtall fountaines too, eſpecially the *Platoniſts*, of which wee might *draw* and *drinke*, and drinke our fill, and drinke as *our owne*, too, (*Auguſtine* ſayes) they being in the tenure of unjuſt poſſeſſours. For as the *Iſraelites* (it is the Fathers ſimilitude) tooke from the *Ægyptians* their Idols, and Rings, and Silver, and Gold, and beſtowed the ſame upon the adorning of the Lords Tabernacle, which they had abuſed by pride and riot, to the beautifying of the Temples of their falſe Gods, and did this, — *Non auctoritate propriâ, ſed præcepto* (ſayes the Father) not by the inſtigation of their owne will, but by mandat, *ſic Doctrina omnes Gentilium, non ſolum ſimulata & ſuperſtitioſa figmenta, &c.* So all thoſe Doctrines of the Gentiles (their ſuperſtitious fictions expunged and layd by) their liberall Diſciplines and Precepts of manners (which were their Gold and Silver) may be reduced to the uſe of ſacred Learning, and a Chriſtian may challenge them — *Ad uſum juſtum prædicandi Evangelii*, — they are the Fathers owne words. — However he puts in a caveat by the way, — a — *ſed hoc modo inſtructus*, — the Divine that is thus accommodated when hee ſhall addreſſe himſelfe to the uſe and ſearch of theſe heathen treaſures, — *Illud Apoſtolicum cogitare non ceſſet, — Scientia inflat, charitas ædificat*, — in his *Lib. 2. de Doct. Chriſtian. 40. Cap.* I never yet read that the true uſe of ſecular Learning tooke from the glory of that which was Divine; I have, that it hath added, nor that any thing gleaned and pickt, and culled with a cleane hand, was diſtaſtfull unto God; I have, that it was approved. I know there is a *Venemous eloquence* (as *Cyprian* wrote of that of *Novatus*) and this perchance the *Bubler* himſelfe uſes, when he leades ſilly Creatures captive, but it is odious both to God and Man, and hath beene the maine Engine in all Ages by which *Schiſmes* and *Hereſies* have wrought. In thoſe Sacrifices of old, *Leviticus* 4. 5. you know whatſoever

Auguſt. lib. 2. de Doct. Chriſt. c. 40

1 Cor. 8.

Epiſt. ad Cornel.

was

was uncleane, *was an abomination unto the Lord*; the Offering it ſelfe muſt be without blemiſh, the Altar ſeven dayes cleanſed before it was layd on, the Prieſt too waſhed before the Congregation, ere he dared to immolate; and why not ſo in this Holocauſt and Sacrifice of the lips? Why not the Offering without blemiſh, the Altar cleanſed, the Prieſt ſo in his Diſcourſe too, that what is kindled here may burne as a ſweet Incenſe unto the Lord? ſmels that are unſavourie never touch his noſtrils; ſounds harſh and jarring, never his eares; and therefore the Bels of *Aaron* were of pure gold, — *Ne ſubaratum aliquod tinniat in Sacerdotio*, — ſaith *Gregorie*. *Greg. Nazian. Apolog.*

It is a ſullenneſſe, or rather policie, moſt in our age have got, that what is in a way of eminence and perfection, they cenſure as a peece of affectation or curioſitie, when (God knowes) it is but to colour ſome ſiniſter pretence, and for a fairer varniſh of their own weakneſſes. You know the ſtorie of the Painter and the Cocke, and the Boy that kept the live ones from his ſhop, leſt comming too nigh, the unskilfulneſſe of that hand ſhould be diſcovered, which had drawne the other at ſo rude a poſture.

There is a malicious ignorance poſſeſſeth many; by which they under-value all things above their ſpheare, and cry downe that induſtrie or Art in others, which is beyond the verge and fathome of their owne abilities. But why ſhould Moles repine that others ſee? Or Cripples murmure that others halt not? *Tolle quod tuum eſt & vade.* Yet loe how even thoſe laſt and gaſping times keepe up with the manner of thoſe of old, both in their ſpleene and weakneſſe. There be (ſaith the Father to his *Marcellinus*) that account inciviliie of Manners, and rudeneſſe of Speech, true Holineſſe, — and with ſuch, — *Quis non Vicus abundat?* Would I could not ſay, — *Quæ Academia?* Theſe Cynickes are in everie Tub, theſe *Stoickes* here at *Athens*. But why ſhould the talke *Hieron. ad Colphurnium.* *Hieronymus.*

Eccleſ. 21. 15. of ſuch be a burthen in our way? Learning unto a wiſe-man is as an ornament of Gold, and like a bracelet on his Arme, but Fetters about the feet, and Manacles about the hands; of whom? of him that (but now) was Eccluſ. 21. 21. the burthen in the way, the *Foole*, whom leſt wee ſhould leave without his companion, *Syracides* brings home to the gates of the *Babler*, and I will leave him there, Eccluſ. 21. 18. —*As a houſe that is deſtroyed, ſo is Learning to a Foole*, and *his Knowledge is but talke without ſenſe*, Eccluſ. 21. 18. the taile of the Verſe carrieth the ſting; for much of our *Bablers* knowledge is little better than —*Sermo ſine ſenſu*, Words without Salt, Speech without Ballace. And yet (good Lord) how theſe Lamps burne in our Tabernacles, theſe Bells ſound in our Sanctuary? They are the thunderbolts of our Congregations, the Hotſpurres of our Pulpits. Againſt the ſinnes of the time they clacke loud, and often, but it is like Mills driven by a haſtie torrent, which grinde much, but not cleane; And indeed it is not much they grinde neither, in ſubſtance, but in ſhew, neither is the labour ſo ſuperlative, as the noiſe. Some that have been converſant in the trade, ſay, that Corne that is cleane and maſſie, will lye long in the wombe and body of the Mill, and requires all the induſtry of ſtone and water, and will not be delivered without ſome time and travaile, when graines which are mixt and courſe, run thorow with leſſe difficultie, and more tumult. The *Babler* will apply. Thus wee ſee emptie veſſels ſound much, and ſhallow ſtreames runne ſwift and loud, but on barren grounds, when thoſe deeper ones glide ſlowly, as with more gravitie, ſo more ſilence, yet on fat ſoules, and ſo the neighbouring Fields grow fertile with their abundance. If all truth of Religion reigned in the Tongue, and the ſubduing of our manifold rebellions in the mortification of the Looke, there were no ſanctitie but here. —But the heat of this mans zeale is like that of Glaſſe, which will be blowne into

into any forme according to the fancie of him that blowes it, ſometimes into that of a Serpent, ſometimes of a Dove, but more often of a Serpent, than of a Dove, not for the wiſdome of it, but the venome. Everie word is a ſting againſt the Church, her Diſcipline, truth of Government; Hee *babbles* ſhrewdly againſt each Inſtitution of it, State, Ceremonies, makes them adulterate, the dreſſes of the Great Whore, and ſets all without the walls of Reformation, which wheele and roll not with the giddineſſe of his tenents. The Golden-mouthed *Homiliſt*, in his fourth upon the *Acts*, ſpeaking of that miraculous way of the Holy Ghoſts deſcent upon the Apoſtles in the day of *Pentecoſt*, obſerves nimbly, thus; — There came a ſound from Heaven, — *As it were* — of a ruſhing and mightie wind, and there appeared to them Cloven Tongues, — *As it were* — of Fire, — *Rectè ubique additum eſt*, — *Velut* — *nequid ſenſibile de Spiritu ſuſpicaretis*, — ſayes the Father. — And indeed, in thoſe phanaticke Spirits, though the tongue be fierie, and the voice as the Winds, ruſhing; yet in themſelves there is nothing ſenſible; For as thoſe which appeared to the Apoſtles, were but — *Velut igneæ*, — and *Velut flatus*, — ſo this orall vehemencie is but — *Velut Zelus*, and *Velut Indignatio*, — Falſe fire, or at beſt, but ſome hot exhalation in the braine ſet on fire by continuall motion and agitation of the Tongue, and there it burnes ſometimes to the madneſſe of the Profeſſour, moſt times, of the Diſciple. Againe, theſe Tongues are ſaid to *ſit* upon the Apoſtles, — *Sedendi verbum ſtabilitatem ac manſionem denotat*, the ſame Father — ſitting preſuppoſes *Stabilitie* and *Manſion*, but moſt of theſe have neither, either in their opinion, or courſe of life, but as the contribution ebbes or flowes; ſo they hoyſe, or ſtrike ſaile, either way, ſometimes for the wide Maine, ſometimes for the next Harbour. Againe, the Apoſtles are ſaid

Chryſoſt.

Chryſoſt. Homil. 4. in Act.

ſaid there, to be *filled* with the *Holy Ghoſt*. —*Rectè repleti, non enim vulgaritèr acceperunt gratiam Spiritus, ſed eouſque ut implerentur*, the Father ſtill. —Where the Spirit powres out, it leaves no part emptie, it doth fill, fill up even to the brim, gives power of ſpeaking roundly and fully: where it doth give power,—no Rheumaticke Enthuſiaſmes, no languiſhing ejaculations, but ſuch as the Spirit indeed have dictated, ſuch as flow from lips immediately touched with the true Cherubin, and a Tongue ſwolne with inſpiration. Againe, the Tongues which ſate upon the Apoſtles were *cloven Tongues*, other tongues, *verſ.* 4. and S. *Marke* cals them *new Tongues*. They were not confined then to a ſingle dialect, to *babling* meerely in our Mother-tongue, but the Text ſayes they had divers Tongues, of the *Parthian*, and *Mede*, and *Elamite*, *Phrygian* and *Pamphilian*, and of thoſe of *Lybia* which is beſide *Cyrene*; and in thoſe (and other Tongues too) they *ſpake the wonderfull workes of God*, Act. 2. 11. Laſtly, this Viſion they ſaw when they were in the Temple, not in a Cloyſter, a Barne, a Wood, a Conventicle, and they were in the Temple with one accord too, with one Office, one Spirit, one Minde, one Faith; not here a *Separatiſt*, there a *Browniſt*, yonder a *Familiſt*, neere him an *Anabaptiſt*, but as their Faith was one, ſo was their life, and (if brought to the teſt) their death too. That was not *Religion* with them which was divided, nor that *not unitie of opinon*, which they would not burne for. Some *Heathens* have ſhewed ſuch reſolution and truth, even in their *falſe Religion*; ſuch were thoſe —*Arvales Sacerdotes*— of old amongſt the *Romanes*, the *Soldani* amongſt the *Aquitans*; the *Ægyptians* alſo had their συναποθνησκόντες, ſo called, becauſe promiſcuouſly enjoying each others benefits, as in one *Religion*, ſo in one Love they would die together; ſuch were the *Hunnes*, *Hyberi*, *Cantabri*, and others, which were joynt-ſharers of each others miſeries and fortunes; and if one

Vide Geneva Notes in 2. chap. *Acts.*

Plin. li. 18. ca. 2.

Cæſar. lib. 3. Galli.

Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 26. & cap. 12. lib. 3.

one by disaster or disease met with Calamitie or fate, the other sought it.—

——*Placidamque petunt per vulnera mortem.*

If in matters therefore, as well morall as divine, there was such reciprocation of old; and not onely in *Religions* which were tainted, and smelt not of the true God, but in that too which hath beene touched and influenced by the *Spirit of the Almightie*, there was such punctuall correspondence then, why such combustion now? Why those daily scarres and wounds, both by the tongue and Pen? Why so much gall in our Pulpit, such wormewood at the Presse? Why those *Civill warres* in our owne tenents? Such stabbings in particular opinions? Such heart-burnings in our *Brethren?* to the great disquiet of our Mother Church, and her Sonne they so labour to disinherit, the *Protestant*, the wounded *Protestant*, who hath beene now so long crucified betweene the——*Non-Conformist* and the *Romanist*, that at length hee is inforced to flie to *Cæsar* for sanctuarie, and in the very rescue and *Appeale*, like the poore man betweene *Jerusalem* and *Jerico*, *hee falls into the hands of Theeves*, two desperate cut-throats and enemies to the Truth and Him, the *Pelagian* and the *Arminian*. But no more (Beloved) of those daggers and stillettoes to our owne brests by the crueltie of our owne *Tribe*; Know, dissension is the very gate of ruine, and the breach at which destruction enters. Civill warres are as dangerous in matters of *Religion* as *State*, and prove the Earth-quakes both of Church and Common-wealth. The storie of the *Romanes shafts* is both old and trodden, but very pertinent; *In the Bundle they never felt injurie of hand, one by one were the conquest of a finger*; and *Tacitus* speakes of *Apronius* Souldiers,—*Satis validi si simul, &c.* as long as they marched

in their combined rankes they ſtood aloofe all danger, but, theſe divided, they grew the prey and ſlaughter of the Adverſarie; and thus—*Dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur.* A mutinie or rent in an Armie *is the Souldiers paſſing-bell*, Death followes, or deſpaire of victorie, when thoſe which are knit up in one heart of courage and affection, trample on diſtruſt as if they had already worne the Palme and glorie of their triumph. And it ſpeeds no better in a divided Church, where *Sciſmes* and *Factions*, like ſo many *rents* and *breaches*, have hewed out a way to her overthrow and ruine. No more *ſtruglings* then by unnaturall *twinnes* in the *wombe* of our *Rebecca*. No more warre in her members, no more *Bablings* in their tongue, no more venome in their pen, to the great advantage of the *Adverſarie*, whoſe artillerie is ready, his bow bent, the arrow on the ſtring, and malice levelling at the very boſome of the *Church*, (I pray God, not of the *State* too) and waits onely opportunitie to looſen it.

Epheſ. 4. 2,3,4, 5,6. But *let us with all humbleneſſe of minde, meekeneſſe, long-ſuffering, (ſupporting one another through love) endevour to keepe the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of peace, knowing there is one Bodie, one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme, one God and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in you all.*

Acts 19.5. And now *Paul* hath beene at *Athens*, paſt his bickerings with the *Epicure*, and the *Stoick*, had their cenſure, —*Hee is a Babler*;—Hee is now rigged for *Corinth*, and by this time arrived there, where I leave him—*In earneſt diſputation with the Grecians in the Synagogue.* The *Stoick* is returned to his *Porch* too, the *Epicure* to his *Garden*. But here is an *Athens* too, though no *Paul*, or at leaſt no ſuch *Paul*; and yonder ſits a *Stoicke*, and he whiſpers to his *Epicure*,—*What will this Babler ſay?* Hee ſayes—*Glory to God on high, in Earth peace, good-will towards men.* Hee ſayes, heartie and true Allegeance to his Soveraigne, —wiſhes the budding and continuance of a temporall

Crowne

Crown here, and the assurance of an immortall one hereafter. —Hee sayes, flourishing to his Church, his Common-wealth, his people; swift and fierce destruction to his Enemies foraine, and (if he have any such) domesticke. —He sayes, courage to his Nobility, unitie to his Clergy, love to his Gentry, loialty to his Commonalty. In fine, He sayes, prosperity to *Athens* (here) unanimity, true brotherhood, happy successe to your studies, to your designes; and *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to you all, and with you all*, Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

IACOB and ESAV:

Election. *Reprobation.*

OPENED AND DISCVSSED BY WAY OF SERMON AT PAVLS CROSSE, *March* 4. 1622.

BY

Humphrey Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*,
and Fellow of WADHAM *College*
in OXFORD.

Auguſt. lib. 7. de Trinitate.

Qui videt hæc, vel ex parte, vel per ſpeculum in ænigmate, gaudeat cognoſcens Deum, & gratias agat; qui verò non, tendat per pietatem fidei ad videndum, & non per cæcitatem ad calumniandum.

LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND:
1636.

LONDON.

1695.

TO MY MOST HONOURD FRIEND *William Brouncker* Esquire, This.

SIR:

WHere I owe a just service, and would publish it, I lesse feare the censure of vaine-glorie, than of unthankefulnesse; you know the age is both tart and nimble, in her Paraphrase on those which would bee Men in Print; I have found it; yet will rather hazard the imputation of a weake man, than an ungratefull: However, I desire not so much to expose my labours to the world, as my loyaltie, that others might take

take notice how much you have beene mine in your cherishing of those, *and how I am ever yours in my expressions of* this. *He that doth but* tacitely *acknowledge the bounties of a* noble *friend, in a manner buries them, when hee that proclaimes them, hath in a part requited; he hath repayed his honor, and therefore him, and so hath satisfied, though not restored. If this publike thankefulnesse of mine, for those daily favours, shall meet with so mercifull an interpretation of yours, I esteem not any rigid one of the times; I cannot glose with them, nor you, yet shall endevour to bee reputed one of those who unfainedly honours and you will do, whilst I weare the name and title of*

Your ever friend and servant,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

JACOB *and* ESAV.

ROM. 9. 18.

He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth.

THe Text holds ſome Analogie with the Times we live in, fraught with no leſſe ſubtiltie, than danger; and as an undiſcreeter providence is ſoone oreſhot in thoſe, ſo in this too. Wee are not here then to cheat our Auditory with a thin diſcourſe; Myſterie is our Theame and Subject, the very Battlement and Pinacle of Divinitie, which he that too boldly climbes, falls headlong into errour. A taske, though perchance diſproportionable to youthfull undertakings, and may from ſuch challenge the cenſure of a vaine-glorious enterpriſe: yet give me leave to returne, though not ſatisfaction, anſwer. In ſacred Riddles what wee cannot reſolve, give us leave to contemplate; and what not comprehend, admire: where our pencill failes us to limme in ſo curious a Portraiture, weele play *Timanthes*, and ſhadow with a vaile; and when our reaſon is once *non-pluſt*, we are huſht in a contented

wonder. Where we may behold the Almightie (in a full ſhower) powring downe his bleſſings upon ſome, ſcarce dewing or ſprinkling them on others; ſoftning this Wax, and hardning that Clay, with one & the ſelfe ſame ſunne, (his will) and yet that will not clouded with injuſtice. Here is that will not onely ſtagger, but intraunce a carnall apprehenſion; Not a circumſtance which is not equally loaded with doubt and amazement, and whoſe diſcuſſing will no leſſe invite than command attention. That which in common paſſages of Divinitie doth but tranſport our thought, in theſe more myſticall will captivate: Everie word is knottie, and full of brambles, and requires the hand of an exact induſtrie.

It behoves us then to be warie of our choyce, how either we traffique here with corrupt antiquity (where but to taſte were to ſurfet) or with that moderne Navie of Expoſitors, where mixture of opinion will rather cloy than feed, and confound than informe our underſtanding. I deſire not to paraphraſe on a reverend errour, nor to chaſtiſe there where I beg information. I ſhall onely requeſt gray haires thus farre to diſpence with me, that where their Candle burnes dimly and uncertainly, I may borrow light of a more glorious flame. Not then to beguile time and ſo noble an attention with quaintneſſe of preamble, or diviſion: The parts here are, as the perſons, and their condition: Two, *Mercie* for whom he will, and they are ſheepe; *Hardening* for whom he will, and theſe are Goats. Let us firſt put them on the right hand, and we ſhall finde a *Venite Benedicti*, *Come yee bleſſed*, here is mercie for you; After, theſe on the left hand, and we ſhall meet with an *Ite maledicti*, *Goe yee curſed*, here is hardening for you: Both which, when we have in a carefull ſeparation orderly diſtinguiſhed, we ſhall make here the will of the Almightie as free from injuſtice, as there his cenſure, *He will have mercie on whom he will, &c.*

PART.

PART. I.

He will.

THat the will of God is the principall efficient cause of all those workes which he doth externally from himselfe, so that there is no superiour or precedent cause moving and impelling it, shines to us no lesse from the eternitie of his will, than the omnipotency; for with that double attribute *Augustine* doth invest it in his 2. booke *contra Manicheos, cap.* 2. And seeing there is nothing before his will, as being eternall; nothing greater, as being omnipotent; we inferre with that learned Father, that *Neque extra, vel ultra illam causa inquirenda*; There is no cause either without, or beyond it, that being the source and fountaine of all causes, as by a more particular survey of Gods workes we shall discusse hereafter. For illustration. In his eternall decree, why are some marked out as inheritours of his Sion? others againe expulsed, and banished those blessed Territories? they as vessels of mercy, for the manifestation of his goodnesse; these of furie, for the promulgation of his justice? Doubtlesse the will, and the *bene-placitum* of the Almighty as the primary and immediate cause, whereof if there be any more subordinate, they have all alliance and dependancy on it, *Tanquam à principali intentione primi agentis*; Like inferiour Orbes which have their influence and motion from a higher mover. I need not travaile far either for proofe or instance; our Chapter is bountifull in both. What was the cause that God did chuse *Iacob* and reject *Esau?* The mediate and secondary cause, was, because he loved *Iacob*, and not *Esau*. But why is his love incommunicable, and as it seemes in a partiall reservation, peculiar to that more than this? I know not a more plausible and higher motive than his will. *Insistendum ergò in particulas,*

culas, cujus vult, & quem vult. Our enquirie here must be cautelous, and slow of foot, lest wee run violently into errour. Here is a *cujus vult* onely for him that hee hath mercy on, and but a *quem vult* for him he hardens; *ultra quas procedere non licèt*, saith *Calvin*. Here is the utmost Verge and Pillar where reason durst to coast; what is beyond is either unknowne, or dangerous; how ever some vain-glorious braines (ambitious of mysterious and abstruser knowledge) have inscribed here their *Multi per transibunt, & augebitur scientia*. But in so tickle and dangerous a torrent, how are they o'rewhelmed at last? and whilst they so ventrously climbe this steeper turret, throwne desperately into heresie? For mine owne part, I have ever thought curiositie in divine affaires but a quaint distraction, rather applauding an humble (yet faithfull) ignorance, than a proud and temerarious knowledge. And had some of the Fathers beene shot-free of this curious insolence, they needed not have retreated from former Tenents, & so much indeared posteritie, no lesse in the review than retractation of laborious errors: Amongst whom S. *Augustine* (though since entituled *Malleus Hæreticorum*) shared not a little in the 83. of his Questions, and 68. Where expounding our place of the Apostle, would thus vindicate the Almightie from injustice; that God foresaw that in some, *Quo digni sunt justificatione*; that in others, *Quo digni sunt obtusione*; so making Gods will to depend on a foreseene merit. A position that doth not onely repugne the discipline of holy story, but thwarts the maine tide and current of orthodox antiquitie, as in a fuller discourse we shall display anon: and therefore in his 7. Booke *de Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, cap. 4. he doth chastise his former tenents with a *Deus non elegit opera, sed fidem in præscientiâ*; That God did not elect *Jacob* for foreseene workes, but faith. But because in faith there is as well a merit, as in workes, he once more rectifies his opinion in the first of his Retractations,

ſtations, and 23, where he doth peach his ſometimes ignorance, and ingeniouſly declares himſelfe, that — *Nondum diligentius quæſivit, nec invenit myſteria*, he had not yet throughly ſifted that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 11. 5. That there was a *remnant according to the election of grace*, which, if it did flow from a foreſeene merit, was rather reſtored than given, and therefore (at laſt) he informes his owne judgement, and his Readers thus; *Datur quidem fideli, ſed data eſt etiam prius ut eſſet fidelis*; Grace is given to the faithfull, but it is firſt given that he ſhould be faithfull. Hence *Lumbard* in his 1. booke, 41. diſtinction, pathetically; *Elegit quos voluit Deus gratuitâ miſericordiâ, non quia fidles futuri erant, ſed ut eſſent, nec quia crediderant, ſed ut fierent credentes.* God out of the prerogative of his will, and bounty of his goodneſſe, hath choſen whom he pleaſed, not becauſe they were faithfull, but becauſe they ſhould be, and not of themſelves beleeving, but made ſo. And therefore, that *Ut ſim fidelis*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 25. beares a remarkable emphaſis; *I have obtained mercie that I might be faithfull*, not that I was. Here the Pelagian ſtartles, and lately backt with a troope of Arminians, takes head againſt this truth, fancying and dreaming of certaine cauſes without God, which are not ſubſiſting in God himſelfe, but externally moving the will of God to diſpoſe and determine of ſeverall events, laying this as an unſhaken principle, *Fidem eſſe conditionem in objecto eligibili ante electionem*; That faith and obedience (foreſeene of God in the Elect) was the neceſſary condition and cauſe of their election. I intend not here a pitcht field againſt the upſtart Sectarie, for I ſhall meet him anon in a ſingle combat: my purpoſe now is to be but as a ſcout, or ſpy, which diſcovers the weakneſſe of his adverſary, not ſtands to encounter. And indeed both the time and place ſuggeſt me rather to reſolve, than debate; and convince, than diſpute an errour. That faith then, or any præexiſting merit in the perſon to be elected, was

the cause of his election, is neither warrantable by reason nor primitive Authoritie. For God could not foresee in the elect any faith at all, but that which in after times he was to crowne them with, and therefore not considerable as any precedent cause of election, but as the effect and fruit, and consequent thereof.

The primary and chiefe motive then is that *εὐδοκία*, *Ephes.* 1. 5. the good pleasure of Gods will, which, prompted of it selfe, without any reference to præexisting faith, obedience, merit, as the qualitie, cause, or condition of it, hath powred grace on this man more than that; *Non solum in Christo, sed per Christum.* And therefore (as that late venerable Synode hath awarded it) *Non ex illis conditionibus facta est, sed ad illas*; That election was not fram'd of these conditions, but to them, as to their effect and issue. And if we commerce a little with passages of holy story, we shall finde that our election points rather to the free will of God in his eternall councell, than to any goodnesse in us which God foresaw: so *Acts* 13. 48. where we reade of the Gentiles, that many *beleeved* because they were *ordained* to eternall life, and not therefore *ordained* because they formerly *beleeved*. And if wee will not suffer our minds to be transported either with scruple or noveltie, the Text is open, *Ephes.* 1. 4. *He hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that wee might be holy, not that we were.* And in this very Chapter, *verse* 23. The vessels of mercy are first said to be *prepared* to mercy, then *cald*: and therefore Saint *Austin* in his 86. Tract hereupon, out of a holy indignation, doth check the insolence of those, *Qui præscientiam Dei defendunt contra gratiam Dei*; Which in matters of salvation, obscure and extenuate the grace of God with the foreknowledge of God: for if God did therefore chuse us, because he did know, and foresee that wee would be good, he did not chuse us to make us good, but wee rather chose him, in purposing to be good, which if it

Synod Dort.

it did carrie any shew either of probabilitie, or truth, wee might question our Apostle, who in his 8. here, and 29. no lesse perswades than proves, that those which God foreknew hee did predestinate to be *conform'd* to the image of his sonne, and therefore God did not chuse us, because before election there was a *conformitie* in us, but because from all eternitie he did elect us, in time he made us *conform'd* to the image of his Sonne. Whereupon Saint *Augustine* in his fifth booke *contra Julianum*, 3. *Chapt.* thus: *Nullum elegit dignum, sed eligendo effecit dignum.* God in the choice of his Elect, found none worthy, but in the chusing made them worthy. Moreover, our election, which is of grace (as I yonder proved) could not stand if workes and merits went before it. *Hæc quippè non invenit merita, sed facit*; Grace doth not finde workes in us, but fashions them, according to that of the Apostle, 2 *Thes.* 2. 13. *God hath from the beginning chosen you through sanctification of the spirit, and not of workes.* Nay, some here so much abolish and wipe off all claime of merit, that they admit not Christ as the *meritorious* cause of our election. Indeed, say they, the Scripture is thus farre our Schoolemaster, That we are *justified* by the blood of Christ, and *reconciled* to God by the death of his Sonne: but where are we informed that wee are *elected* through his blood, or *prædestinated* by his death? Indeed, in the 3. of *John* 16. wee finde a—*sic Deus dilexit*, —*God so loved the world that he gave his Sonne.* So that, not because Christ died for us, God loved, and chose us, but because God loved and chose us, therefore Christ died for us. For so *Rom.* 5. 8. *God setteth out his love towards us, that whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.* In matters therefore of election, wee acknowledge not a cause more classicke than the *Cujus vult* here specified, *Hee will have mercie on whom hee will.* In so much, that in the parable of the housholder, *Matth.* 20. I finde but a *sic volo*, as a sufficient

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ent and just cause of his designes. I will give to this last as much as to thee; and yet this Will so clothed with a divine justice, that God is not said to will a thing to be don, because it is good, but rather to make it good, because God would have it to be done. For proofe whereof, a sweet singer of our Israel instances in those wonderfull passages of creation, where 'tis first said that *Deus creavit*, God created all things, & the *Valde bonum* comes aloofe, he saw that they were all good, and the morall portends but this, That every thing is therefore good, because it was created, and not therefore created because it was good; which doth wash, and purge the will of the Almighty from any staine, or tincture of injustice; for though that be the chiefe mover and director of all his projects, as the prime and peremptory cause, doing this, because he will, yet we finde not onely *sanctitatem in operibus*, but *justitiam in viis. The Lord is righteous in all his wayes, and holy in all his works.* Hereupon that great treasurer of Learning and Religion, *Zanchius* in his 3. booke *de Natura Dei*, and 4. Chapter, divides betweene the *cause* of Gods will, and the *reason* of his will: That though there be no superiour cause of it, yet there is a just reason, and a right end and purpose in it. Hence S. *Hierome*, *Deus nihil fecit quia vult, sed quia est ratio sic fieri*; God doth nothing *because he will*, but because there is a *reason* of so doing, in regard whereof it is not simply called Θέλημα, the will of God, but εὐδοκία, the good will of God, *Ephes.* 1. 11. So that in his sacred resolutions and designements, though wee meet (sometimes) with passages, wound up in darkened terrour, the cause whereof we may admire, not scan; yet the drift and maine ends of the Almightie have beene so backt with strength of a just reason, that we may rather magnifie his goodnesse than tax his power; and applaud the calmnesse of an indulgent mercie, than repine at the lashes of an incensed justice. Equitie and goodnesse are children of one burden, both the

Mori. Clean. Lep.

the lawfull issue of his will, which through foule mouths of libertines have strangely bastardized, making that the throne of tyranny, which is the rule of justice, yet let them know that of *Augustine* to his *Sixtus*; *Injustum esse non potest, quod placuit Justo.* To be God, and to be unjust, is to bee God and not God. So faite a goodnesse was never capable of so foule a contradiction, and therefore (as the same Father prosecutes) *Iniquitatem damnare novit, non facere:* God knows how to judge, not to commit a crime, and to dispose, not mould it, and is often the father of the punishment, not the fact. Hence 'tis, that the dimnesse of humane apprehension conceives that (oftentimes) a delinquency in God, which is the monster of our own frailty; making God not onely to foreknow, but predestinate an evill, when the evill is both by growth, and conception ours, and if ought savour of goodnesse in us, Gods, not ours, yet ours too, as derivative from God, who is no lesse the Patron of all goodnesse, than the Creatour; and 'tis as truly impossible for him to commit evill, as 'twas truly miraculous to make all that hee had made good. And therefore *Tertullian*, in his first booke *de Trinitate*, makes it a *Non potest fieri*, a matter beyond the list and reach of possibilitie, that he should be *Artifex mali operis*, the promoter and enginer of a depraved act, who challengeth to himselfe the title no lesse of an unblemished Father, than of a Judge. Our thoughts then should not carry too lofty a saile, bnt take heed how they cut the narrow straights, and passages of his will. A busie prying into this Arke of secrets, as 'tis accompanied with a full blowne insolence, so with danger; Humilitie (here) is the first staire to safetie; and a modest knowledge stands constantly wondering, whilst the proud apprehension staggers, and tumbles too. Here's a Sea unnavigable, and a gulfe so scorning fathom, that our Apostle himselfe was driven to his ὦ βάθος, *O depth*, and in a rapture, more of astonishment, than contemplation, he stiles it, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος

τῶ αὐτῦ, *voluntatis suæ mysterium*, or (as *Beza* translates it) *Sacramentum*, the Sacrament, and mysterie of his will, being so full of unknowne turnings, and Meanders, that if a naked reason hold the clue, wee are rather involved, than guided in so strange a Labyrinth.

To enquire then the cause of Gods will, were an Act of *Lunacie*, not of *Judgement*; for every efficient cause is greater than the effect, now there's nothing greater than the will of God, and therefore no cause thereof. For if there were, there should something præoccupate that will, which to conceive were sinfull, to beleeve blasphemous. If any then (suggested by a vaine-glorious enquiry) should aske why God did elect this man, and not that? we have not only to resolve, but to forestall so beaten an objection: Because hee would. But why would God doe it? Here's a question as guilty of reproofe, as the author, who seekes a cause of that, beyond, or without which there is no cause found, where the apprehension wheeles, and reason runs giddy in a doubtfull gire:

August. *Compescat se ergò humana temeritas, & id quod non est non quærat, ne id quod est non inveniat.* Here a scrupulous and humane rashnesse should bee husht, and not search for that which is not, lest it finde not that which is. For as the same Father, in his 105. *Epist. Cur illum potius, quàm illum, liberet, aut non, scrutetur (qui potest) judiciorum ejus tam magnum profundum, sed caveat præcipitium*——. Let him that can, descry the wonders of the Lord in this great deep, but let him take heed he sinke not; and in his answer to the second question of *Simplician*: *Quare huic ita, & huic non ita, homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? & cur isti sic, illi aliter? Absit ut dicamus Judicium luti esse, sed figuli.* Why God doth to this man so, and to that not so, who dare expostulate? and why to this man, thus, to that otherwise? farre be it, that we should thinke it in the judgement of the clay, but of the Potter. Downe then with this aspiring thought, this ambitious desire of hidden

den knowledge, and make not curiositie the pick-lock of divine secrets; know that such mysteries are doubly barred up in the coffers of the Almighty, which thou maist strive to violate, not open. And therefore if thou wilt needs trespasse upon deity, dig not in its bosome; a more humble adventure sutes better with the condition of a worme, scarce a man, or if so, exposed to frailtie.

Tis a fit taske and employment for mortalitie, to contemplate Gods workes, not sift his mysteries, and admire his goodnesse, not blurre his justice; And it hath beene ever the practice of primitive discipline, rather to defend a disparaged equitie, than to question it, for so that reverend Father (who ever mixt his learning with a devout awe) in his 3. booke, *cont. Julianum*, and 18. *chapter*, *Bonus est Deus, justus est Deus, potest aliquos sine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus est, non potest quemquam sine malis damnare, quia justus est.* God is equally good and just, he can save some without reference to desert, because he is good, he cannot damne any man without a due demerit, because hee is just: Nay had God delivered all mankinde into the jawes of destruction, wee could not touch him with injustice, but rather admire so darke and investigable an equitie, which wee may illustrate by worldly passages, and humane contracts. If I were bankrupt of instance, S. *Augustine* could releeve mee. A great man (saith hee) lends two summes of money, to two severall men, who can tax him of obdurateneſſe, or injustice, if at time of repayment he forgive this man his debt, and require satisfaction of that? for this lies not in the will and disposall of the debtor, but of the creditor. So stands the case betweene frailty and omnipotencie. All men (which through *Adam* become tributaries to sinne and death) are one masse of corruption, subject to the stroke of divine justice, which, whether it be required or given, there is no iniquitie in God, but of whom required, and to whom given, 'tis in such debtors insolence to judge,

leſt God returne their ſucineſſe with a—*Non licet mihi quod volo facere?* as the houſholder did the murmuring labourers in his vineyard. Is thine eye evill, becauſe I am good? And indeed I diſplay not a higher cauſe of election and reprobation than divine goodneſſe, which that learned Schoole-man, *Part.* 1. *quæſt.* 23. *art.* 5. doth not onely illuſtrate, but prove no leſſe by ſimilitude than argument. For God (ſaith hee) made all things for his goodneſſe ſake, that in things by him made, his goodneſſe might appeare, but becauſe that goodneſſe is in it ſelfe, one, and ſimple; and things created cannot attaine to ſo divine a perfection, it was neceſſary that that goodneſſe ſhould be diverſly repreſented in thoſe things, and hence 'tis that to the complement and full glorie of the univerſe, there is in them a diverſitie of degrees required, of which ſome poſſeſſe a lower, and ſome a higher roome; and that ſuch a multiformitie may bee preſerved in nature, God permits ſome evils to bee done, leſt much good ſhould bee anticipated:—*Voluit itaque Deus in hominibus, quantum ad aliquos, quos prædeſtinet, ſuam repræſentare bonitatem, per modum miſericordiæ parcendo illis, quantum verò ad alios, quos reprobet, ſuam oſtendi bonitatem per modum juſtitiæ, puniendo eos.* God in thoſe hee elects, would ſhew his goodneſſe by way of mercy in ſparing theſe, in others he reprobates, his goodneſſe too, by way of juſtice in puniſhing them. And therefore our Apoſtle here not onely magnifies the riches of his glorie upon veſſels of mercy, *verſ.* 23. but his long patience too, to veſſels of wrath, *verſ.* 22. So that in his houſe there are not onely thoſe of gold and ſilver, but of wood and earth too, *and ſome to honour, ſome to diſhonour,* 2 *Tim.* 2. 20. Of which if any mutinous or ſaucy ignorance deſires a reaſon beyond Gods will, I have no anſwer but that of *Auguſtine*, in his 22. Sermon, *de verb. Apoſt. Tu ratiocinare, ego vivet, tu diſputa, ego credam: altitudinem videt, ad profundum non pervenit*; Diſpute and reaſon hee that durſt, while

while my thought and beleefe ſtand at a bay, and wonder; I ſee there is a height, but cannot reach it, and know this gulfe, not fathome it. For as in things naturall (it is *Aquinas* ſimilitude) when all the firſt matter is uniforme, why one part of it ſhould bee under the forme of fire, another under the forme of earth, there may be a reaſon aſſigned, that there might be a diverſitie of *ſpecies* in things naturall: but why this part of matter ſhould bee rather under the forme of fire, and that under the forme of earth, depends onely on the ſimplicity of Gods will, and as it hangs too on the wil of the Architect, that this ſtone ſhould be rather in this part of the wall, and that in another, although reaſon and art require that other ſtones ſhould be in one part of the Edifice, & others in another. Neither is there for this iniquitie in God, that hee doth not proportion his gifts in a ſtrict equalitie, for it were againſt the reaſon and truth of juſtice, if the effect of Predeſtination ſhould bee of debt, and not of grace; for in thoſe things which are of an unreſtrained freedome, every man (out of the juriſdiction of his owne will) may give to whom hee will, more or leſſe, without the leaſt diſparagement of juſtice: And therfore to thoſe recoiling diſpoſitions, which mutter at a free bounty heaped on others, without reference to deſert, I will uſurp that of the Parable, *Tolle quod tuum eſt, & vade.* And yet notwithſtanding though the will of God bee the independent prime cauſe of all things, ſo that beyond it there is no other cauſe, and without it there is no reaſon of Gods actions; yet it is not the ſole and particular cauſe, for there are many ſecondary concurring with the firſt, by the mediation whereof, the will of God brings his intendments to an iſſue. As in matters of our ſalvation the will and working of man ſhakes hands with that of God, for though without him we finde a *Nil poteſtis facere*, *Joh.* 15. 5. Yee can doe nothing; yet aſſiſted by his will, and the powerfull and effectuall operations of his grace, our will co-

operates with God. Else how could *David* pray to him to be his helper, unlesse he himselfe did endevour something? or how could God command us to doe his will, except the will of man d'd worke in the performance of it? It is true (saith S. *Augustine*) we finde a *Deus operatur omnia in omnibus*, but wee no where finde a *Deus credit omnia in omnibus*. *Nostrum itaque est credere, & velle, illius autem dare credentibus, & volentibus facultatem operandi*: To will, and to beleeve is ours, but to give the faculty of operation to them that will and beleeve, is Gods. *I have laboured more than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God with mee*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 10. Why God therefore doth save some men, there is more to bee alleaged than this, God would have them to be saved; for if this laurell doe beautifie our triumph wee must encounter, hee that will have this Crowne must tug for it, and this prize, must wrestle, *Qui creavit te sine te, non salvat te sine te*: Hee that hath created thee without thy selfe, will not save thee without thy selfe. And therefore those whom God from all eternitie hath destined to salvation, hee hath in a like privilege destined to the meanes: But why those meanes, not communicable to all, many a busie endevour hath strugled for a reason, not compast it. Out of more than a double Jurie of Interpreters, which I have (not with a little distraction) observed, waving here in doubtfull opinion, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* gives thus his verdict. Gods grace is indifferently exhibited to all men, to the elect and reprobate, but all doe not equally lay hold on it. Some no lesse neglect, than repulse Gods grace, and when its comfortable beames shall shine upon them, they shut their eies against it, and will not behold it, and God in justice with-drawes his grace from these men, because they with-draw themselves from his grace. *Est enim in gratiâ quemadmodum in solis radio* (saith he) There is a proportion betwixt the raies of the Sunne, and the eye, and betwixt the soule of man, and the

Lumb. lib. 1. distinct. 42.

the grace of God. The eie is ordained by nature to be the organ of the sight, and yet the eye cannot see except the Sunne enlighten it; neither can the Sunne make any thing else see but the eye in man, for it may shine upon our hand or foot, nevertheless the hand or foot shall see nothing: so the soule hath a possibilitie to merit by her naturall abilities, but that possibilitie shall bee vaine and fruitlesse, unlesse it be quickned by the powerfull operation of Gods grace, which grace, if it shall once actuate it, then the soule will bee able to attaine to that double life of grace here, of glory hereafter. *Unde totum est ex gratiâ, sic tamen ut non excludatur meritum.* Whence hee would have all to hang on grace, yet so that we exclude not merit. But this inference is many stories above my reach, and in the greennesse of my judgement, there is little truth in the consequence, and palpable contradiction in the consequent. For how can the merits of man challenge any thing, if all flow from the grace of God? Yes (saith *Hugo*) even as a weak childe which cannot yet goe alone, should be led by the Nurse, a man cannot say that the childe goeth of himselfe, but by the assistance of the Nurse; and yet the Nurse could not make the childe goe, unlesse he were naturally inclinde to that motion: so the soule of man is said to merit by the aid of grace, and by her owne naturall inbred abilitie, but all the glorie of the merit must be ascribed to God, because the soule can doe nothing without the support and grace of God Whence I can gather no truth but this, that in *solo homine sit potentia logica ad salutem.* That a man only may be saved without apparant contradiction; no unreasonable creature is capable of that everlasting blessednesse and beatificall vision; and the soule of a beast is no more able to see God, than a senslesse stocke to behold a visible object. For man onely hath a passive power to salvation, and man before his conversion hath a passive power onely. And therefore the similies afore proposed, if they be

referred

referred to the soule before the conversion, are false, and beare no proportion, for then the soule is starke blinde, and dead in trespasses, and cannot looke on the grace offered, or move one jot in the course of Christianity: But after the conversion when God speaks *Ephata* to the soule, bee opened, when the understanding is illuminated, and scales of errour once drop from the eies, then it may hold some correspondencie with truth. As therefore in matters of our conversion, so of election too, all hangs on Grace, and this grace in a holy reservation limited to a narrow Tribe, for the *cujus vult* here insinuates no more, and *Hee will have mercie on whom hee will*, sounds in a direct æquivalence with this, *Hee will have mercie* onely on some; of which some there is a definite and set number, uncapable of augmentation, or diminution, however those new sprung Sectaries, out of a turbulent braine and thirst of cavillation, blaspheme the eternitie of Gods decree, making our election mutable, incompleat, conditionate, subject to change and revocation, and what other stranger birth and prodigie of opinion, which I conceive not without a holy impatience and indignation. And whereas our Fathers of old have maintained, even to the sword and faggot, the decree of election to bee no lesse eternall than irrevocable, these would faine lull our beleefe with innovation of upstart discipline, altering no lesse the number than the condition of the elect into the state of reprobate, and of the reprobate into the elect. And (as the Devill did to Christ) they urge Text and Reason for it. For God (say they) can not give grace to whom he doth give grace, which if hee should doe, an elect may be damned; and hee can give grace to him he doth not give grace to, which if he doe, a reprobate may bee saved, and so a reprobate may become an elect, and an elect a reprobate. Thus they shoot by an indirect aime, and saile by a wrong Compasse, for wee enquire not here of Gods power, but of his will, not what hee

Arminians.

he can doe, but what he hath resolved to doe. Againe, it seemes no consequence, God can save or damne a man, therefore this man can bee saved or damned, *Non enim posse Dei sequitur posse nostrum*, Gods power stands not in relation to ours; as if God would otherwise redeeme mankinde than by the death of his Sonne. (As there was another meanes possible (saith *Austin*) but not more convenient.) That therefore mankinde could otherwise be redeemed; and if God had this in his power, that it should be therefore in mans too? Could not God (if he would) have saved *Judas?* doth it therefore follow that *Judas* could bee saved? No, for though this bee too ragged and stonie for a popular capacitie to digge thorow; yet if wee looke backe a little into the mysteries of Gods decree, wee shall finde that which will no lesse releeve our understanding, than remove our scruple; where things from everlasting have such a doome, which is not malleable either by change or revocation, *For the Lord of hosts hath determined, and who can disanull it? and his hand is stretched out, and who can turne it away?* Isay 14. 27. Seeing then that election is from eternitie, and that not obnoxious to mutability or corruption, we neither curtaile the elect of their primative glorie, nor of their number. Which though they be a little flocke, (in respect of that herd and large drove of the damned) yet in those sacred Volumes of Gods diviner Oracles, wee finde them numberlesse. So *Apoc.* 7. 9. *These things I beheld, and loe, a great multitude which none could number of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the Throne, and before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands.* Whence those Factors for the Romish See, would hew out a way to universall grace; making our election *generall, manifold, indefinite*, and would have Christs death no lesse *meritorius*, than *propitiatorie* for the sinnes of the whole world. A *quare* long since on foot betweene *Augustine*

Hugo de Sancto Victore in cap. 9. ad Rom.

and *Pelagius*, and since in a fiery skirmish betweene the Calvinist and the Lutheran, out of whose mud and corruption there hath beene lately bred the Arminian, a Sect as poysonous as subtill, and will no lesse allure than betray a flexible and yeelding judgement. For our owne safetie then, and the easier oppugning of so dangerous a suggestion, let us examine a little of the extent and bounds of this grace, which Divines cut into these three squadrons, in *Gratiam Prædestinationis, Vocationis, & Justificationis. Gratia Prædestinationis*, is that of eternitie, the wombe and Nurserie of all graces, whereby God loved his elect, πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων. *Gratia Vocationis*, a secondary grace, by which God cals us, and by calling prescribes the meanes of our salvation. And this grace hath a double prospect; Either to that which is externall, *in libro Scripturæ*, or *creaturæ*, where God did manifest himselfe as well by what he had made, as by what he had written; or to that which is internall, of illumination, or renovation, of that in the intellect only, which a reprobate may lay claime to, of this in the heart, which by a holy reservation and incommunicableness is peculiar to the elect. *Gratia Justificationis*, which is not a grace inherent, but bestowed, and stands as a direct Antipode to humane merit. Yet not that χάρισμα which the Schooles christen with a *gratia gratis data*, any gift which God out of his free bountie hath bestowed upon us beyond our desert, as Prudence, Temperance, and the like; for in these the heathen had their share, whose singular endowments have made posteritie both an admirer, and a debter; but χάρις, *Gratia gratum faciens*, a gift perfect, and sanctified, which doth so qualifie the receiver, that hee is not onely acceptable, but glorious in the eyes of the bestower, as Faith, Hope, and the third Sister Charity, which no lesse reconcile than justifie us before God.

We conclude then, that the externall grace which the creature affordeth us, is not limited to a private number, but

but to all; yet we deny the power and vertue of salvation in it. We allow a sufficiencie of redargution for convicting the heathen, who when they knew God, worshipped him not as God, and therefore are both desperate and inexcusable. Moreover the grace which the Scripture affordeth us, as it is not universall, so not of absolute sufficiency for salvation, but onely in *genere mediorum externorum*, (as the Schooles speake) because it doth prescribe us the meanes how wee may bee saved, but it doth not apply the meanes that wee are saved. Againe, that grace of Illumination is more peculiarly confined, and if by the beames of that glorious Sunne which enlightneth every man that comes into the world, wee attaine to the knowledge of the Scripture, yet the bare knowledge doth not save us, but the application. But the grace of regeneration is not onely a sufficient, but an effectuall grace, and as 'tis more powerfull, so 'tis more restrained; they onely partake of this blessednes, whom God hath no lesse enlightned, than sanctified; and pointed out, than sealed, men invested in white robes of sinceritie, whose delinquencies, though sometimes of a deepe tincture, are now both dispenst with, and obliterated, not because they were not sinfull, but because, not imputed: so involucrous, and hidden are Gods eternall projects, that in those he relinquisheth, or saves, his reason, is his will; yet that as farre discoasted from tyranny, as injustice. The *Quare* we may contemplate, not scan, least our misprision grow equall with our wonder. And here in a double ambush dangerously lurke the Romanist and the Arminian, men equally swolne with rancor of malice, and position: and with no lesse violence of reason, than importunitie, presse the vertue of Christs death for the whole world. Alas! wee combat not of the price and worth of Christs death, but acknowledge, That an able ransome of a thousand worlds; but the ground of our duell tends to this, whether Christ dying proposed to himselfe the

salvation of the whole world. We distinguish then—*inter λυτρον Christi, & gratiam Christi*; The merits of Christ, and the gracious application of those merits. His merits are able to allay the fury of his incensed Father, and reconcile unto him the very reprobates: but the application of those merits are restrained to the Elect, for they only are capable of so great a blessednes. For proofe whereof we have not only that venerable Bench and Counsell of Fathers and School-men, but also a higher court of Parlament to appeale unto, the Registers & pen-men of sacred Chronicles, Evangelists, and Apostles, which punctually insinuate Christs death only for his own, for his Church, for his brethren, for those whose head hee was, laying downe his life for some, and shedding his blood for some, for his sheep, his little flock, his peculiar Priesthood, his tabernacle, body, spouse, his Canaan, Sion, Jerusalem, his Ambassadors, Saints, Angels, in a word, this *Cujus vult*, The Elect. I'le not beat your eares with a voluminous citation of text and Fathers, I'le draw only one shaft out of this holy quiver, and direct it to the Romane Adversary, which if he shall repell or put by, I'le proclaime hereafter a perpetuall truce. The main and chiefe cause that impeld Christ to die, was his love, *John* 15. But Christ loved not all, but his own, *Eph.*5. Therfore Christ died not for all, but for his owne. The Jesuit here retraicts, and we have none now left to encounter us but the Arminian; who (like a cunning Fencer) hath many a quaint flourish, and with a false blow sometimes staggers, not wounds his adversary. The part most indangered, is the eie of our Intellect, and judgement which hee thus dazles with a subtile nicety. That Christ hath obtained reconciliation for all, for *Saul* and *Judas*, but not as they were reprobates, but as they were sinners; for God (saith he) did equally intend, and desire the salvation of all, and the reason why they were not saved was their incredulity, and misapplying of this gracious reconciliation and attonement.

Moulin in his Anatomy of Arminianisme.

Thus

Thus they would betray weakneſſe into the hands of errour; and for a fairer gloſſe, and gilding of this their treachery, they diſtinguiſh—*inter Impetrationem, & applicationem*; Pretending that Chriſt did impetrate reconciliation for all, but the application of that leanes wholly to the elect. How crazy and ill tempered this Poſition is, wee'le declare briefly. Firſt, wee deny that Chriſt by his death hath impetrated reconciliation for all, for *Saul* or *Judas*: Neither can our thought, much leſſe our beleefe give way to ſo ſtrange a Paradox, That remiſſion of ſinnes is obtained for thoſe whoſe ſinnes are not remitted, or that ſalvation was purchaſed for thoſe whom God from all eternitie had decreed to condemne. Againe, we acknowledge Chriſts death ſufficient for all, all beleevers, nay all, if they did beleeve. But that *Saul* or *Judas*, or the reſidue of that curſed Hierarchy ſhould reap the benefit of his Paſſion, we utterly diſclaime as erronious and hereticall. For if Chriſt by his death hath reconciled *Judas*, how is't that *Judas* ſuffers for his ſinnes? for we cannot without impeachment both of his mercy, and juſtice too, ſay that Chriſt ſuffered for *Judas* his ſins, yet *Judas* is damned for thoſe ſinnes; and ſince Chriſt as hee is God, hath from everlaſting deſtined *Judas* to damnation, how is't that the ſame Chriſt, as hee is man, and mediator betweene God and man, ſhould reconcile *Judas*, whom from eternity he had reprobated? Againe, if Chriſt hath obtained reconciliation for all men, then none ſhall bee borne without the covenant of Chriſt, ſo that of the Apoſtle will be falſe: That, *By nature wee are all borne the children of wrath, Epheſ. 2.* And can wee truly be ſtiled the children of wrath, if reconciliation bee obtained for all men without exception? And if all infants borne without the covenant are reconciled, *Cur non clementi crudelitate in cunis jugulavimus?* (ſaith the learned *Moulin*) why doe we not in a mercifull crueltie murther them in their cradles? for then their ſalvation were ſea-

Idem ibidem.

led; but if they ſurvive, they are nouriſhed in Paganiſme, infidelitie, which are the beaten roads, and highwayes to deſtruction. And if we ſcan (ſaith he) the nicety of theſe words, the obtaining of reconciliation to bee applyed, and the application of reconciliation obtained, we ſhall finde it a meere curioſitie to harrow and perplex the braine, and torture the underſtanding, ſince Chriſt hath never obtained that which hee hath not applyed, neither hath hee applyed that which hee hath not obtained. Yet theſe men either of a head-ſtrong opinion, or learned madneſſe, are ſo violent in the proſecution of their tenents, that no ſtrength of anſwer will ſatisfie their objection, nor modeſtie of language ſuppreſſe their clamour, but a foule mouthed *Forſterus* will bray out his wittie ſpleene with an——*Error & furor Zuinglianorum.* His reaſons are as ſlender as they are many (the vertigoes and impoſtures of a giddie braine) fitter for ſilence, than rehearſall, and for ſcorne than confutation. Wee apply then; Is grace univerſally bountifull, and mercy open-breſted unto all? What meane then thoſe Epithetes of outcaſt, curſed, damned, and that triple inſcription of death, hell, and damnation? Are they either of policie, or truth? Are they things reall, or fancied onely to bugbeare and awe mortalitie? What would the Throne portend? Judge, adverſary, Serjeant, priſon, or thoſe horrid tones of worme, fire, brimſtone, howling, gnaſhing? Is the Scripture the Anvill of untruth, or are theſe things no more than fained and imaginary? What will thoſe flames of your threatned purgatorie prove at laſt, but the Chimæra and coinage of a phantaſticke braine? And a 500. yeares indulgence, but the ſharke and legerdemaine of your Lord God the Pope? Either your opinion is ſandy, or your priſon, both which muſt fleet with your holy Fathers honour, if the armes of mercy be expanded to all. Againe, are the merits of Chriſt applyable to all? Swear, whore, drinke, prophane, blaſpheme, and (if there be

be in that Alcharon, and curſed rolle, a ſinne of a fairer growth) baffle the Almightie at his face. Thinkeſt thou that heaven was ever guiltie of ſuch treaſon againſt her Soveraigne? or that it will ever entertaine a gueſt ſo expoſed to the height of diſſoluteneſſe and debauſhment? No, thou muſt know that one day there will bee a dreadfull ſummons, either at thoſe particular accounts, at the houre of death, or at the generall audit of the laſt trump, when thou ſhalt meet with a new Acheldema and vale of Hinnom, places no leſſe of terror than of torment, the fiery dungeon, and the burning Tophet, where the furie of the great Judge reaks in a flood of brimſtone, and his revenge boyles in a fiery torrent, limitleſſe, and unquenchable. On the other ſide happily maiſt thou ſlumber, without howle, or skreek of conſcience, thou wounded and dejected ſpirit; Thou whoſe glorious ornaments are but ſackcloth and aſhes, and thy choiceſt fare but the bread of ſorrow and contrition. Know there is balme of Gilead for the broken-hearted ſinner, and oyle of comfort for thoſe which mourne in Sion. Behold how thy Saviour comes flying downe with the wings of his love, and ſweepes away thy ſinnes that they ſhall neither temporally ſhame thee, nor eternally condemne thee: Who ſhall wipe off all teares from your eyes, and lodge you in the boſome of old *Abraham*, where there is bliſſe unſpeakable for ever. And thus I have ſhewed you the happineſſe of ſheepe under the ſtate of mercie; Time bids me now to reflect on the miſerie of Goats, as they are under the condition of hardening.

PART. II.

He hardeneth.

WHat? hee that is rich in goodnesse, and his mercies above all his workes? he that mournes in secret for our offences, and vowes that he desireth not the death of a sinner, will hee harden? How can this stand either with his promise, or mercy, or justice? Gods unrevealed projects are full of wonder, which if our apprehension cannot drive to, our beleefes must sound. *Occulta esse possunt, injusta non possunt*, fraught they may bee with sullen and darker riddles, never with injustice. Let us first then take a survey of Mans heart, and see to what miseries the hardnesse of it hath expos'd our irregular predecessors, and after trie whether we can make providence the mother of so deformed an issue. And here a while let us observe S. *Bernard* tutoring his *Eugenius*, *Cor durum*, a heart, which the softer temper of Gods working spirit leaves to mollifie, and its owne corrupt affections begins once to mould. Like that of *Nabal*, to bee all stone, becomes at last so cauterized, *Ut semetipsum non exhorreat quid nec sentit*, that it is so farre from starting at its owne uglinesse, that it is non-sensible of deformitie. And hence *Theodoret* defines it to be *pravam animi affectionem*, a corrupt and depraved affection of the minde, which if man once gives way to, hee is so screen'd both from Gods mercie and truth, that though it bee about him, and in the masterdome and dominion of his best sense, *Non cernit tamen, nec intelligit*, yet his eyes are as blinde intelligencers to beleeve, as his understanding. And against such, that sweet Singer of *Israel* breakes out into his passionate complaint, *Usquè quò filii hominum, usquè quò?* O ye sonnes of men, how long will ye turne my honour into shame, how long? and that of the Protomartyr

tomartyr *Stephen*, in his Oration to the refractary Jewes. *Durâ cervice*, O yee ſtiffe-necked, and uncircumciſed of heart and eares, yee doe alwayes reſiſt the holy Ghoſt. And indeed ſuch hearts are but the Wardrobes and Exchequers of future miſchiefe, whoſe keyes are not in the cuſtodie of the Almightie, but thine owne boſome. For ſo that great Doctor of the Gentiles, *Secundum impœnitens cor tuum theſaurizas iram :* According to the impenitencie of thine owne heart, *thou treaſureſt up wrath* (to thy ſelfe) *againſt the day of wrath*. How then can that eye which ſhould bee fixed either on the tenderneſſe or mercie of his Creator, glance ſo much on his injuſtice, as to make that the Midwife of ſo foule a progenie? Obduration was never the childe of goodneſſe, neither can a ſinne of ſo baſe a deſcent lay claime to omnipotencie. It ſtands not (I dare ſay) with Gods power, I am ſure, his will, to reconcile two enemies in ſuch an extremitie of oppoſition. Doe ſweet water and puddle flow immediatly from one and the ſelfe-ſame ſpring? light and darkneſſe from the ſelfe-ſame Sunne? I know there is a ſtiffe-necked and blinde-fold Tribe, which God hath left, not made the ſtorie of his vengeance; whoſe affections are too dull and drouſie in his ſervice. Men creſtfallen in devotion, whoſe hearts are ſo dead in their allegeance to him, that they ſeeme ſpiritleſſe, having all the powers and faculties of their ſoule benummed, and their conſcience without pulſe or motion. And of theſe the Prophet, *Incraſſatum eſt cor populi*, *Their heart is as fat as brawne*. Theſe ſticke not to belch open defiance in the face of the Almightie, and with thoſe miſcreants in *Job*, are ready to expoſtulate with eternitie, *Quis eſt omnipotens ut ſerviemus ei? Who is the Lord that wee ſhould ſerve him?* Such have foreheads of braſſe, which no ſhame can bore thorow: and (as the Prophet ſpake of *Juda*) *a face of whoredome which refuſeth modeſtie*. But Saint *Gregorie* in his 10. *Homily* upon *Ezechiel*, hath proclaimed their

doome. *Frontem cordis in impudentiam aperit culpa frequens, ut quo crebrius committitur, eò minus de illa committentis animus verecundetur :* Frequencie of sinning doth flesh us in immodestie, assiduitie, in impudence. Offences that are customarie are not easie of dimission, and if thou once entertaine them as thy followers, they will quickly intrude as thy companions. Sinnes that are fed with delight, with use, are as dangerous as those of Appetite : which oftentimes prove no lesse inseparable, than hereditary ; to doe well is as impossible to these, as not to doe ill ; So can assiduitie make a sinne both delightfull, and naturall. *Can the Æthiop change his skinne, and the Leopard his spots ? then may yee also doe well which are accustomed to doe evill.* That sinne then is irrazable which is so steeled with custome, and may undergoe the censure of that sometime Citie of God ; *Insanabilis est dolor tuus :* Thy sinne is written with a pen of iron, and with a claw of a Diamond is engraven on the table of thy heart. How then can wee without sacrilege, and robbing of divine honour, make God the Father of so foule and unwashed a crime ? Obduration is the issue of thine owne transgression. *Perditio tua ex te, ô Israel :* If destruction dog thee, thanke thy corrupt affections, not blame thy Maker, for he doth but leave thee, and they harden. To lay then (with some depraved libertines) the weight and burden of our sinnes on the shoulder of Predestination, and make that the wombe of those foule enormities, may well passe for an infirmitie, not for excuse, and indeed thus to shuffle with divine goodnesse, is no lesse fearfull, than blasphemous. For, though God from eternitie knew how to reward every man, either by crown, or punishment,—*Nemini tamen aut necessitatem, aut voluntatem intulit delinquendi,* yet he never enjoyned any man either a necessitie, or a will to sinne. If any then fall off from goodnesse, hee is hurried no lesse with the violence of his owne perswasion than concupiscence ; and in

in those desperate affaires, Gods will is neither an intermedler, nor compartner, *Cujus ope scimus multos, ne laberentur, retentos, nullos, ut laberentur, impulsos* (saith *Augustine.*) By whose hand of providence wee know many to be supported that they might not fall, none impelled that they should. And in his answer to that 14. Article falsly supposed to be his, *Fieri non potest, ut per quem à peccatis surgitur, per eum ad peccata decidatur:* for one and the selfe-same goodnesse, to bee the life and death of the selfe-same sinne, is so much beyond improbabilitie, that it is impossible. If any then goe onward in the true rode of divine graces, no doubt but the finger of the Almighty points out his way to happinesse; but if he wander in the by-paths of a vicious and depraved dissolutenesse, his owne corrupt affections beckens him to ruine. To love then his children, and neglect his enemies, doth neither impaire Gods mercy, nor impeach his justice. But why God should love this as his childe, neglect that as his enemie, *Nec possibile est comprehendere, nec licitum investigare*——, is beyond all lawfulnesse of enquiry, all ken of apprehension. Let this then satisfie our desire of knowledge, *Et ab illo esse, quod statur, & non esse ab illo, quod ruitur:* That his providence is the staffe and crutch on which wee so leane that wee yet stand; our corrupt affections, the brused and broken reed on which, if wee doe leane, wee fall. If any stagger at those unfathomed mysteries, and his reason and apprehension bee strucke dead at the contemplation of Gods eternall, but hidden projects, let him season a little his amazement with adoration, and at last solace his distempered thoughts with that of *Gregorie, Qui in factis Dei, &c.* In the abstruse and darker mysteries of God, he that sees not a reason, if he sees his owne infirmitie, he sees a sufficient reason why he should not see. Me thinkes this should cloy the appetite of a greedy inquisition, and satisfie the distrust of any, but of too querulous a disposition, which, with the

eie of curiosity prying too nicely into the closet of Gods secrets, are no lesse dazled than blinded; if not with profanation, heresie. Divine secrets should rather transport us with wonder, than prompt us to inquirie, and bring us on our knees to acknowledge the infiniteneſſe both of Gods power and will, than ransacke the bosome of the Almightie, for the revealing of his intents. Is it not blessednesse enough that God hath made thee his Steward, though not his Secretarie? Will no Mansion in heaven content thee, but that which is the throne and chaire for omnipotency to sit on? No treasurie, but that which is the Cabinet and store-house of his owne secrets? Worme, and no man, take heed how thou struglest with thy Maker; expostulation with God imports no lesse peremptorinesse, than danger; and if Angels fell for pride of emulation, where wilt thou tumble for this pride of inquirie? As in matters therefore of unusuall doubt, where truth hath no verdict, probability findes audience; So in those obstruct and narrow passages of his will, where reason cannot informe thee, beleese is thy best intelligencer, and if that want a tongue, make this thy interpreter; so thou maist evade with lesse distrust, I am sure, with more safetie.

And at last when thou hast scand all, what either scruple or inquisition can promp thee to, in a dejected humiliation, thou must cry out with that Jewish penitent; *Lord I beleeve, helpe thou my unbeleefe.* Yea, but how shall wee here cleare God from this aspersion, when the Apostle is the Herauld to his guilt? *Whom he will hee hardens: Indurat* is an active, and doth alwayes presuppose a passive; And if there be a subject that must suffer, there must be a hand too that must inflict. How then can wee quit the Almightie of the suspition either of tyrannie or injustice, since hee is said to send on some *the spirit of error*, 2 *Thess.* 2. and that great trumpet of Gods displeasure, *Esay* in his 63. brings in the Jewes, no lesse muttering

tering than expostulating with God, *Quare errare nos fecisti Domine ? Lord, why hast thou made us to erre from thy wayes, and hardened our hearts from thy feare ?* These instances (at the first survey,) beare terror in their looks, and like sophisticated lights in a darke roome, make things seeme more ugly than they are ; and are but false bils, preferred against a spotlesse innocent, which, without search, may convince of publike crime, but narrowly scand, absolve him, no lesse from the act, than the thought of guilt. How God therefore in this is liable to censure and misprision, and how both a beholder, and intermedler of depraved actions ; vouchsafe mee a little your attentive patience, and I doubt not, but I shall informe the understanding of the shallow, and to the portion of my weake Talent, will strive to satisfie the waveringly judicious. *Whom hee will hee hardens.* Some (too nicely tender of the honour of their Maker) have given way to an interpretation more modest, than authenticke, and interpret——*indurare*——for *duritiam manifestare*, so that God is not properly said to harden the heart, but rather to manifest how hard it is ; And to this opinion Saint *Augustine* is a close adherent in his 18. Question upon *Exodus*. But this holds not with the purpose of God, nor with the scope and meaning of the Text, which if we compare with others of that nature, wee shall finde that Gods *will* hath rather a finger in this, than his promulgation : for so in the 10. of *Josua* we read, that 'twas the *will* and the sentence of the Almightie, that the Canaanites should be hardened, that they might deserve no mercy, but perish. Others there are (whose opinions border neerer upon truth) which would have God to bee said to harden—*non effectivè, sed permissivè* ; Not by way of action, but permission ; and so *Damascen* in his third booke *de fide Orthodoxâ, cap.* 20. where his words run thus : *Opere pretium est agnoscere*——. Tis a matter no lesse worthy of knowledge, than observance, that 'tis the

custome of the Scripture to call Gods permission, his action. So wee read that God sent his enemies the spirit of slumber, which is not to bee ascribed to God as an agent, but as a permitter. This glosse sutes well with the approbation of Saint *Chrysostome*; who speaking occasionally of that of the first of the *Romanes*, *Deus tradidit illos*—God gave them up unto vile affections, hee there expounds—*tradidit*, by *permisit*, which he thus illustrates by a similitude—; As the Generall of an Armie, in the sweat and brunt of a bloody day, if he withdraw his personall directions from his souldiers, what doth hee but expose them to the mercie of their enemies? not that hee led them into the jawes of danger, but because they were not back't by his encouragement: So God in this spirituall conflict, he delivers us not into the hands of our arch-enemie, he leaves us to our owne strength, and our corrupt affections drag us thither with a witnesse. And hence that dicotomie of *Cajetan* claimes his prerogative, that God doth harden *Negatively*, but not *Positively*, which distinction though it be sound and Orthodox, yet it doth not exempt us from scruple, for God hath more in the stiffe-neckt and perverse, than a naked and bare permission, otherwise we should too weakly distance obduration from a lesser sinne, for every sinne God permits, and as Saint *Augustine* in his *Enchir. 96. cap. Nihil fit nisi omnipotens fieri velit, vel sinendo ut fiat, vel ipse faciendo.* There's nothing done without the consent and approbation of the Almightie, and that either by his person or substitute. If God therfore be only said to harden man because he permits him to be hardened, why should he not be likewise said to steale, because he permits man to steal? No doubt therefore but God hath a greater ore in this sin of hardening, than in offences of a lesser bulke. And therefore Saint *Augustine* in his 3. *lib. cont. Julianum*, 3. *cap.* with many a sinewed allegation proves, that God doth concurre to the excecation and hardening both of the

the minde and heart,—*Non solum, secundum patientiam, & permissionem, sed potentiam, & actionem*: Not according to his patience and permission onely, but his power and action: Which position hee thus (after) qualifies with a distinction. *Obduration* is not onely a *sinne*, but a *punishment* of a sinne. Now, that which is in obduration meerely of sinne hath its pedegree and originall from man onely; but that which is of punishment for that sinne, from God. And therefore I cannot but approve of that of *Isidore*, *Qui justi sunt, à Deo non impelluntur, ut mali fiant, sed dum mali jam sunt, indurantur, ut deteriores existant*,——According to that of *Paul*, 2 *Thess.* 2. For this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they might beleeve a lie, that all might be damned that beleeve not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousnesse. I have as yet but toucht the barke and skinne of the controversie, the pith and the kernell is yet unchewed, and that is,—*Whether God here (as hee is said to harden) bee the cause of our transgressions.* Which *quære* admits a three-fold distraction, and difference of opinion. Two of them are extremes, and by hot opposition each of other, they have both lost the truth, the third runnes in a midway, and ever directs to safetie. *Florinus* (whose opinion posteritie records as the monument of a seduced errour) with no lesse peremptorinesse than blasphemie hath arraigned the Almightie, and made him not onely the permitter, but the Author of our sins. The *Seleuciani*, after him, were poisoned with that heresie, and the *Libertines* laboured in the defense thereof. *Manes*, and his disciples, dreampt of a *summum malum*, and upon that phantasie grounded their assertion, that God the *summum bonum*, is to be seene onely in our good actions, but every depraved Act had its derivation from their *summum malum*. But those of a more solid and well tempered judgement, whom the influence of the Spirit had taught a moderation, or the danger of Inquisition, forbade

bad curioſitie, dare not with *Florinus* impute (here) ſinne unto God, yet maintaine againſt the *Manichees*, that God is not a bare and idle ſpectator, but powerfull over, although no actor in the ſinne; Not in the ſinne, as it is meerely a ſinne, but in the ſinne as 'tis a puniſhment of ſinne. And therefore in every tranſgreſſion of ours, there are foure things remarkable, 1. *Subjectum, ſeu materiale*, the ſubject in which ſinne ſubſiſts, and that is two-fold; 1 *Subſtantia*, the ſubſtance, or rather the faculties of the reaſonable ſoule, in which originall ſinne is ſo riveted, that the naturall man can by no meanes purge himſelfe of that hereditarie contagion, or *Actio bona*, on which all our actuall ſinnes are grounded. 2 *Formale*, the formalitie or obliquitie of the action. For every ſinne is ἀνομία, the tranſgreſſion of the Law, and in the ſinner there's nothing ſinne but this. 3 *Reatus*, The guilt of this enormitie, which makes us liable to eternall death. 4 *Pœna*, The puniſhment inflicted upon the guilty, whether temporall, or eternall, or both. Now wee may not charge God with the obliquitie of the action, for that proceeds from a perverſe, and a ſeduced will, but the ſubſtance of the action (as the Schoole-men ſpeake) that hath its originall from God. And therefore wee conſider ſinne, either *ut malum culpæ*, as 'tis a violation of Gods law, or *ut malum pœnæ*, as a puniſhment laid upon us for the violation of that Law: So *Rom.* 1.25. *The Gentiles turned the truth of God into a lye*, There's *malum culpæ*. And it follows immediatly at the 26. *verſe*, For this cauſe God gave them up into vile affections, There's *malum pœnæ*. Now God is author of the ſecond, not the firſt. If miſts ſtill hang on the eyes of clouded errour, I thus diſpell them with that of *Hugo de Sancto Victore*—*Deus malis poteſtatem ſolam tribuit, non voluntatem, quia licet ex ipſius permiſſione ſit, quod malum poſſunt, ex inſpiratione tamen non eſt quod malum volunt.* God onely gives power to the wicked, not will, that although it bee by his permiſſion that

that we can doe evill, yet it is not by his inspiration that we will doe evill. And therefore as the Schooles doe commonly distinguish of the decree of God, so must wee of the execution of that decree, which is either *per efficientiam*, when the divine power doth worke any thing with, or without the creature, or *secundum permissionem*, when the creature hath leave to worke without the guidance of that power. Neither will it savour of impertinence, if we insert here that distinction of Gods providence in *efficientem & deserentem*, into a *releeving and forsaking providence*, for whensoever God withdrawes his especiall aid and assistance from us, man is hurried where his owne corrupter appetite, not Gods grace carrieth him. *Adam* fell as soone as the influence of Gods grace ceased, and without the supportance of the same grace wee all fall, with no lesse certaintie of perill, than danger of restitution. When the Sun sets, wee see darkenesse follows immediatly upon the face of the earth, and yet the Sunne is not the efficient cause of darkenesse, but the deficient; so when the Sunne of righteousnesse shall forsake us, the darkenesse of errour must needs possesse the understanding, and the will must mistake in her choice and execution. Shee must *necessitate consequentiæ, non consequentiæ*. The necessitie is grounded on a consequence in Logicke, not any influence in Nature. And here wee may borrow a true glosse for that in the 2 *Acts*, where it is said that Christ was delivered into the hands of the wicked, by the determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God. We must not think that God was the setter in this villanie, that he conspir'd with *Judas* in his treason, or with *Pilate* in his bloody sentence: But that hee onely gave way to their attempts, and suffered them to crucifie the Lord of glory. Yea, but why did not God curbe them in their cruell proceedings? Why should his connivence betray the blood of innocence? Saint *Augustine* shall answer for me, *Quia melius judicavit de malis bene-*

bene-facere, quàm mala nulla esse permittere. To extract good out of evill was peculiar only to omnipotency and goodnesse; and therefore no lesse solid than charitable is that caveat of *Du-Plesses—Male queritur, unde malum efficiatur:* It is an ill curiositie to seeke an efficient cause of ill. Let this then satisfie modest inquiry, that it is with the sinner as with an untuned Instrument, and the Musitian, the sound is from the finger of him that toucheth it, but the jarring from the Instrument.

That our discourse then with the time may draw towards a Period, wee involve and wrap up in this one distinction the very juice and substance of the controversie. Sinne is considerable two wayes, *ante commissionem*, before the commission, *Sic se Deus habet negative, tum respectu voluntatis, tum productionis.* God doth neither work with us, nor countenance us in the act of sinning. *Post commissionem*, after the commission, *sic Deus determinat, & ordinat peccatum.* God sets bounds to the malice of wicked men, and so mannages the disorder in sinne, that contrary to the nature of sin, and the intent of the sinner, it shall redound to his glorie.

Wee incalcate then, that God is not the *author*, but the *orderer* of sinne. Hee causeth the *worke*, not the *fault*; the *effect*, not the *delinquencie*, working *by*, not *in* mischiefe. Wherein, according to the rules of Logicke, *the finall and impulsive causes ever so distinguish the actions, that two doing the same thing to a divers intent, are notwithstanding said not to doe the same.* So God gave his Sonne, and Christ himselfe, and *Judas* Christ, (saith *Augustine*) why is God here holy, and man guiltie? *Nisi in re unâ quam fecerunt, non est causa unde ob quam fecerunt.* I shut up all with that state of *Fulgentius*, in his first booke *ad Mancinum, cap.* 13. Where having long hovered over this question, *An peccata fiant ex prædestinatione?* He at last thus resolves it: *Potuit Deus, sicut voluit, prædestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad pœnam,*

pœnam, sed quos prædestinavit ad gloriam, prædestinavit ad justitiam; quos autem prædestinavit ad pœnam, non prædestinavit ad culpam. God when hee saves any man, doth predestinate him as well to the meanes, as to the end. But in the reprobation of a sinner, God destines the sinner only to the punishment; foreseeing, but not determining those sinnes which shall in time draw Gods punishments downe upon him.

Doe our corruptions harden then, and God punisheth? Take head you *Pharaohs* of the world, you which persecute the poore Israelite in his way to *Canaan*, spurre not the goodnesse of the Almightie to revenge, or justice. *Læsa patientia fit furor*—, trample too much on the necke of patience, you will turne it to fury. It is true, God hath feet of Lead (clemencie intermixt with slownesse of revenge) but he hath hands of iron, they will grinde and bruise into powder, when they are dared to combat.

Sera venit, sed certa venit vindicta Deorum.

Procrastination of divine justice is ever waited on no lesse with a certaintie of punishment than ruine. What shall wee doe then (wretched, miserable that wee are) or to whom shall wee flie for succour? The good S. *Augustine* tels us,—*à Deo irato, ad Deum placitum*——, from the Tribunall of his justice, to his Throne of mercie and compassion. That of *Auselmius* was most admirable, —*Etsi Domine ego commisi unde me damnare potes, tu tamen non amisisti, unde me salvare potes*—. O blessed Jesus, though I have committed those transgressions for which thou maist condemne mee, yet thou hast not lost those compassions by which thou maist save mee. If our soules were in such a straight, that wee saw hell opening her mouth upon us, like the red sea before the Israelites; the damned and ugly fiends pursuing us behinde, like the Ægyptians, on the right hand, and on the left; death and sea ready to ingulfe us, yet upon a broken heart, and un-

disguised sorrow, would I speake to you in the confidence of *Moses*, —*Stand still, stand still; behold the salvation of the Lord.* Thou then which art oppreſt with the violence and clamour of thy sinnes, and wanteſt an advocate either to intercede, or pittie, heare the voice of the *Lambe*, —*Cry unto mee, I will heare thee out of my holy hill.* Is any heavily loaden with the weight of his offences, or groanes under the yoke and tyrannie of manifold temptations? —*Come unto mee, I will refreſh thee*—. Doth any hunger after righteousneſſe? behold, *I am the bread of life, take, eat, here is my body.* Doth any thirſt after the wayes of grace? Loe, *I am a living ſpring, come, drinke, here is my blood*: my blood that was ſhed for *many* for the remiſſion of ſinnes; for *many*, not for all. Hath ſinne dominion over thee? or doth it reigne in thy mortall heart? are the wounds of thy tranſgreſſions ſo deepe that they cannot be ſearched? or ſo old, that they corrupt and putrifie? where is the Samaritan that will either bind them up, or powre in oyle? But art thou not yet dead in treſpaſſes? are not thy ulcers paſt cure? are there any ſeeds of true life remaining? is there any motion of repentance in thy ſoule? will thy pulſe of remorſe beat a little? haſt thou but a touch of ſorrow? a ſparke of contrition? a graine of faith? know there is *oyle of comfort for him which mournes in Sion.* Not a teare drops from thee with ſinceritie, which is either unpittied, or unpreſerved, —*God puts it into his bottle.* On the other ſide, is there a *Pharaoh* in thee? an heart unmollified? a ſtone that will not bee bruſed? a flint unmalleable? I both mourne for it, and leave it: But is this *heart of ſtone* taken away, and is there given thee a *heart of fleſh*? is it ſoft and tender with remorſe? truly ſacrificed to ſorrow? know there is *balme of Gilead for the broken heart*, balme that will both refreſh and cure it. Thou then which groaneſt in the ſpirit, and art drawne out (as it were) into contrition for thy ſinnes; thou which haſt *waſht thy hands*

hands in innocence, goe cheerefully *to the altar of thy God*, unbinde thy sacrifice, lay it on. But hast thou done it sincerely? from thy heart? lurkes there no falshood there? is all *swept cleane and garnished?* doth the countenance of that smile as cheerefully, as the other seemes to doe of the outward man? if so, thy fire is well kindled, the Altar burnes clearly, the *savour of thy incense shall pierce the clouds*. But is this repentance disguised? hath it a touch of dissimulation in it? is not thy old rankor cleane disgorged, but must thou againe to thy former vomit? hypocrite, thy Altar is without fire, thy incense without smoak, it shall never touch the nostrils of the Almighty, thy prayers in his eares sound like brasse, and tinkle like an ill-tuned Cymball; all this formalitie of zeale is but a disease of the lip: *give mee thy heart my sonne*, I will have that, or none, and that cleane too, washt both from deceit and guilt. That subtill fallacie of the eye pointing towards heaven, that base hypocrisie of the knee kissing the earth, that seeming austeritie of the hand martyring thy brest, gaines from me neither applause, nor blessing; the example of a Pharisee could have chid thee to such an outside of devotion;—*Qui pectus suum tundit, & se non corrigit, aggravat peccata, non tollit*, saith *Augustine*; Where there is an outward percussion of the brest, without remorse of the inward man, there is rather an aggravation of sinne, than a release; these blanchings, and guildings, and varnishings of externall zeale, are as odious in the eie of God, as those of body in a true Christian; this glosse, this paint of demurenesse speakes but our whoredomes in religion, and the integrity of that man is open both to censure and suspition, that is exposed either to the practise of it, or the approbation. A villaine is a villaine howsoever his garbe or habit speake him otherwise, and an hypocrite is no lesse, though sleeked over with an externall sanctity, and drest in the affectations of a precisser cut. Let us be *truly that* what we *seeme to be*, and not

seeme what we are not; let there be doores and casements in our breasts, that men may see the loyaltie twixt our heart and tongue, and how our thoughts whisper to our tongue, and how our tongue speakes them to the world. Away with those Meteors and false-fires of Religion, which not onely by-path us in a blinded zeale, but mislead others in our steps of errour. Let us put off the old man in our pride, vaine-glorie, hypocrisie, envie, hatred, malice, and (that fowle disease of the times and us) *uncharitablenesse*; and let us put on the new man in sinceritie, faith, repentance, sobrietie, brotherly kindnesses, love, and (what without it disparages the tongue both of men and Angels) *charitie*; then at length all teares shall bee wiped away from our eyes, and wee shall receive that everlasting benediction,——*Come yee children, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world.*—

To which, the Lord bring us for Christ Jesus sake,
to whom be praise and power ascribed now,
and for evermore. Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

His { *Beginning.* / *Height.* / *Fall.* }

In a Sermon preached at *Pauls* Crosse, *Iune* 4. 1624.

Being the first Sunday in *Trinitie* Terme.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

LONDON,

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1636.

TO MY APPROVED WORTHY FRIEND Mr. *Francis Crossing*; *This.*

SIR;

I Was never yet so preposterous in my respects, as to value the worth of him I serve, by the title, but the disposition; Hee is noble *to mee, that is so in his* actions, *not his* descent; *those high swolne priuileges of* blood *and* fortune *are* (*for the most part*) tympanies *in* greatnesse, *pricke them, and they prove windes of* honour, *not substances. Had I been ambitious*

of an high Patronage, *this weake peece I send you might have worne an* honourable *inscription, but I have that within mee which chides those insolencies, and tells me that the name of* friend *sounds better than of* Lord, *and hee is lesse mine that doth onely* countenance *mee, than hee that* feeds *mee; Hee onely deserves to bee a Protector of my Labours which hath beene a cherisher of my fortunes; to you then this at once flies for* Patronage, *and acceptance, desiring you to receive it as a monument of his thankefulnesse, who ever devotes himselfe*

Your most-most respective

HVM. SYDENHAM.

THE ARAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

IOHN 8. 58.

Before Abraham was, I am.

NEver age afforded a perfection of that eminency which was not exposed to envie, or opposition, or both. Truth is the childe of vertue; and, as the inheritresse of all her glories; so, her sufferings. Now, vertue growes by unjust wounds, and so doth truth too; and like steele that is bent, springeth the other way. Shee shewes her best lustre upon encounter, and like the Sunne shines brightest betwixt two clouds, *malice*, *errour*; both (here) conspire to overcast and darken the glory of those beames which inlighten every man that comes into the world,

the ſonnes of righteouſneſſe. It hath ever beene the ſtratagem and project of that *Arch-enemie* of man, for the advancement and ſtrengthening of his great title—*The Father of lies*—, either to ſtrangle truth in the conception, or ſmother it in the birth. If hee miſcarrie in his owne particular undertakings, hee will ſuborne his Factors, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; and theſe not onely to queſtion, but to oppoſe a Deitie, fit agents put upon ſuch a damned deſigne, for it is theirs no leſſe by debt than parentage; —*Ye are of your father the Devill, v.* 44. He hath bequeathed you a prodigious lie, and you would faine practiſe it on the Saviour of the world, labouring to nulliſie his acts, blemiſh his deſcent, impoſture all his miracles. Where were they ever ſeconded, but by the finger of a God? or, where contradicted, but by the malice of a Jew? could the powers of the grave, and the ſhackles and bands of death bee diſſolved, and broken by the meere hand of *Beelzebub?* or a dead and ſtinking carcaſſe, enlived and quickned by a *Samaritan and his Devill?* could the kingdome of darkneſſe, and all thoſe legions below, fetch a ſoule out of the boſome of your *Abraham*, and re-inthrone it in a bodie foure dayes entombed? No, that —*Magnus hiatus inter te, & nos*—, returnes the lye upon all helliſh power, and the prince thereof. —*Betweene you and us, there is a great gulfe fixed, Luke* 16. 26. Why then exclaime you on the injuſtice and falſhood of his teſtimonies? *Opera quæ ego facio*—, *The workes which I doe beare witneſſe of mee.* Looke on them, and if they unſcale not your wilfull blindneſſe, the axioms and principles of your owne law will convince you. It is writtten in your *Thalmud*,—*That the teſtimonie of two men is true*—. Behold then out of your owne blood, and Nation, two ſtrong evidences againſt you, Jewes both, and both ſpeak him a true God,—*A Virgin ſhall conceive and bring forth a Sonne, and his name ſhall be called Emmanuel, God with us*, Iſa. 7. 14. *This is our God, and there ſhall bee none in*

compariſon

compariſon of him, Baruch 3. 36. Why then are yee ſo ſtartled at his naming *Abraham*? or why doth your indignation ſwell, that hee ſayes hee is before him? *Abraham rejoyced to ſee my day, and ſaw it, and was glad, verſ.* 56. (My day of eternitie, and my day of incarnation, with the eye of faith.) Why inquire you into the number of his yeeres? a whole age to him is as an houre, two thouſand yeeres but as a minute, and all the wheeles and degrees of time within his ſpan, and as a *nunc* or inſtant; before *Abraham* was, before the world, before all time, *I am*. *Jew*, take his word, it is orthodox, or if not, his affeveration: and if that be too ſleight and ſingle, loe, hee doubles it, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, before Abraham was, I am.*

And now thou that ſitteſt in the chaire of *Moſes*, heare what S. *Auguſtine* tells thee,——*Appende verba, & cognoſce myſterium*—, the words (indeed) are of a narrow circuit, yet they ſhrine and involve a myſterie, and carry with them both majeſtie and depth, like rich ſtones ſet in Ebonie, where though the ground be darke, yet it gives their luſtre and beautie clearer; learne here then both proprietie, and weight of language, and how to criticke betweene a God, and thy owne frailtie.—*Intelligè, fieret, ad humanam factiuram, ſum verò, ad divinam pertinere ſubſtantiam*:—*Was*, points onely to a humane conſtitution, —*I am*, to a divine ſubſtance, and therefore the originall hath a γενέσθαι —for *Abraham*, and an—εἰμί—for *Chriſt*. Divinitie is not cloiſtered or confined to time, either paſt, or future, but commands all as preſent; and therefore not —*I was*, but——*I am*. Neither doe the Latines give *Abraham* an ——*eſſet*, but a *fieret*; nor *Chriſt* a —*fui*, but a —*ſum*. Hereupon the full tide of Expoſitors, beſides * M. *Calvine*, and his *Marlorate*, (who though they a while divide the ſtreame, yet at length they meet in the ſame channell, and ſo make the current a little fuller) wave this way, and ſend us to that —*I am*, of *Exo-*

* *Ego latius extendo, Calv. in* 8. *Io.*

dus, in the 3. *chap.* 14. *verſ.* where wee finde the root with an—*Ehieh*, *Aſher Ehieh*, which though the Chaldee renders,—*Ero qui ero*, *I will be that I will be*—(which indeed is the genuine ſignification of the originall) yet the vulgar Edition gives it in the preſent,—*I am that I am*—and the *Septuagint*—ἐγώ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν—*I am hee that is*—(it being both frequent and neceſſarie with the *Hebrewes* to place the future for the preſent) and by this they imply —*Gods eternall and unchangeable being in himſelfe*. The *Thalmudiſts* alſo (whoſe authority muſt paſſe for currant, where there is no power to contradict, or ſcanne) allow this,—*Ehieh* as much as—*Sum*—*Fui*—*ero*-the comprehenſion of three times, *paſt*, *preſent*, and to *come*. So the *Rabbins* in *Elleſhemoth Rabbi* upon this Text, read,—*I that have beene*, and *I the ſame now*, and *I the ſame for time to come*. However the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* labours an indifferencie, and hath charitie enough to afford both interpretations,—*He that was, and hereafter will be*.—*Ad denotandam eternitatem ejus* (ſaith *Jonathan*) to ſhew the eternall being of him who alone can ſay—*Sum*, *ero*,—*I am, and I will be*; for he is the very ſource and fountaine of all life and eſſence, *In whom we live, and move, and have our being*—, and by reaſon of this triplicitie of time and power, *Vatablus* would derive *Jehovah* from this word —*Ehieh* (though ſome of the *Hebrew* Doctors fetch the pedegree a little higher) from—*Havah*,—*Hee was*, and tels us that by the firſt letter is ſignified, *he will be*, and by the ſecond—*Ho*,—*He is*; and to this *Rabbi Bechai* ſeems to aſſent, in his 65. *page* upon *Exodus*. But however they war a little in the derivation, they do not in the ſubſtance, proportioning both this triple privilege, and where there is ſuch an immenſity, wee cannot but make a God, and where ſuch a God, eternity. All things beſides him once were not, and being, are limited in their natures, neither could poſſibly perſiſt, unleſſe God preſerved them; many alſo have loſt, or ſhall loſe their proper eſſence, and whilſt

whilst they remaine are obnoxious to daily fluctuations; only God eternally-*Is*-without beginning, limitation, dependance, mutation, end, consisting only of himselfe, and all other creatures of him, and therefore this -*Ehieh- I am*-is a peculiar attribute of omnipotency, not determining any other, but indeterminatly signifying all manners of being, for so it imports—*The very immensitie of Gods substance*,—and to this with an unanimous consent all Interpreters subscribe, and the whole quire of Fathers. I have now brought—*Ehieh*—close up with *Jehovah*, this—*I am*—with him that is—*First*—and *Last*, so that wee may here rather challenge than borrow that of the Apostle; *Jesus Christ yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever.* Where S. *Chrysostome* will put *Christ* upon that triple prerogative to make him a compleat God, too.—*A yesterday*, for time past, —*to day*—present—*for ever*, to come, though I meet here (as I shall in every cranny and passage of my discourse) a violent opposer *Eriedinus Samosatenianus*, who limits the Apostles—*Heri*—and *Hodie*—*ad Rem nuperam, & recentem*—so in *Job* (hee saies) men are called—*Hesterni*—by the *Greekes*, ἐχθὲς —*yesterday*—and *to day*—for their brevitie of life; but this interpretation is no lesse bold than desperate, and that εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας—which followes in the originall, will cut off all comment and glosse of transitorinesse,—*The same for ever*,—and therefore wee finde him cloathed with peculiar titles of the Almightie, and by Saint *John* foure severall times fronted with an ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν—*from him that was, and is, and is to come*;—so that if any murmuring unbeleever should recoile in the acknowledgement of Christs divinity; he beats on again; a third and a fourth time, that if he cannot pierce the stony heart by a single perswasion, he will batter it by inculcation. However the malice or perversnesse of most ages have brought this truth not onely upon termes of scruple, but opposition, so that now it is growne disputable, whether Christ suffered

fered more in his bodie by the furie and violence of the hand, or in his divinitie by the scourge and sting of venomous and depraving tongues ? one would have him, *no God*, another *no man* ; this againe would have him *a meere man*, and that denyes him *a true bodie* ; one strips him quite of *flesh*, another cloaths him with it, but makes it *sinfull* ; this would have him an *Angell*, that little better than a *devill*, or at least that *he used one*. One, *no body*, another (I beleeve) *nothing*,—*Est illud mirabile* (saith *Athanasius*) *Cum omnes hæreses invicem pugnent, in falsitate omnes consentire.*—

Every head is frantick with a strange opinion, and that with some wilde fancie, which all meet in the same improbabilitie and (which it ever breeds) falshood. Errour and infidelitie may blow on divine truth, and shake it too, but not overthrow it ; tis founded on such a Basis and sure ground-worke as is subject neither to batterie nor undermining. *The Rocke, Christ.* The *Jew* and the *Arrian* lay on fiercely here, not onely to deface this goodly structure, but to demolish it, and ruine (if possible) his divinitie ; but lend me a while your noble attention, I'le shew you with what weakenesse they come off, what dishonour. In the traversing of which give mee leave to make use of that Apologie which in the same subject Saint *Ambrose* did to *Gratian*, —*Nolo argumento credas* (*sancte Imperator*) *& nostræ disputationi* ; *scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus Apostolos, Prophetas, Christum.* Leane not so much to my strength of argument and disputation, as to a sacred authoritie and proofe ; Let us aske the Scriptures, Patriarchs, Prophets, Evangelists, Apostles, Christ ; let mee adde (for so both my taske and industrie require) Fathers, Councels, Rabbins, Schoolemen, Historics sacred and prophane, let's give antiquitie her due, and not in a lazy thirst drinke of the streame, (which is either troubled or corrupt) when wee may have our fill at a cleere fountaine ; to traffique here

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at home with a few moderne Systeames, is no small sinne of the age onely, but our profession too, if we can fleyle downe the transgressions of the time in some few stolne *Postelliſmes*, and peece a sacred line with a worme-eaten Apophthegme, so it be done in a frequent and hasty zeale, wee are the Sages and the Patriots of the time, and the lights no doubt of this under-firmament; but our discourse grovels not so low; wee are here to tread a maze, and threed a Labyrinth, sometimes on hils of ice, where, if wee slip in the least *punctum*, wee tumble into hæresie; sometimes with *Peter* in the deep, that if the hand of *Christ* did not a little succour us, we should sinke into infidelity. I will ballasse my discourse with as much cautelousnesse as I may, and where I meet with difficulties which are stony and untrodden, if I cannot fairly master them, I will oppose them with my best strength, and if not finde a way smooth to satisfaction, dig on; I may perchance awaken hæresies, but I will lull them again in their own slumber, I will onely pull aside the veile and shew you their uglinesse, and shut them in up their owne deformities. I know I am to speake to an Auditory, as well seasoned with faith, as understanding, and yet (perchance) not without some mixture and touch of weaknesse. Here are shallowes then for Lambes to wade, and deepes for Elephants to swimme, passages which lye levell with humble capacities, others which will venture to stand up with riper judgements, if they stoop sometimes and seem too low for these, and mount againe and prove too high for others, it was ever my desire to keepe a correspondence with the best, and so to make use of that of *Augustine*, ——*Non fraudabo eos qui possunt capere, dum timeo superfluus esse auribus eorum qui non possunt capere*——. Yet come I not to fill those eares which are pickt and dresst for accurateneſſe, I am so far from labouring to please such, that I intend to vex them; if any charitable eare bee prone to a soure discourse, pitch that attention here one

houre, and I shall make good my promise out of the words of the Text.

Before Abraham was, I am.

And here we are first to enter lists with that capitall and Arch-enemy of *Christ*, the vexation of the Fathers, and the incendiary and firebrand of the Eastern Church, the *Arrian*, who out of an envious pride is at once bountifull and injurious, willing to invest *Christ* with the title ὁμοίου, but disrobes him of that glorious, and his owne, ὁμοῦ, granting him a *like* essence with the Father, not the *same*: equall to him in *power*, not *eternitie*; but give me leave to strip one heritick to cloath another, and put on ours what *Tertullian* did on *Marcion*—*Quid dimidiam mendacio Christum?* why dost thou thus peece-meale and mince a deity, and *halfe God* (as it were) the Son of the Almighty?—*Totus veritas*, he is the spirit of truth, and oracle of his Father, *the brightnesse of his glory*, in whom are hid all the treasures of *Wisedome*, *knowledge*, by whom God made the world.

It were too bold a soleçisme to ranke transitorinesse with what is sacred, or that which is fleeting with everlastingnesse, what below eternall dare we make compatible with omnipotencie?

An eternall Intellect, most perfect, and such is God, requires an object equally perfect, and eternall, which from God, holding a relation to God, can be nothing but God it selfe; & seeing that no Intellect can conceive without the image of that object which it conceives, it will follow of necessitie that God, since from all eternity hee knew himselfe most perfect, should conceive and bring forth in himselfe a most perfect image of himselfe, his Sonne. There is no act of understanding without imagination, which naturally presents an *image*, by so much the more perfect, by how much the object, whose image

image it is, is more divinely excellent. And this is that the Apostle glanc't at, when hee stiled *Christ*,—*Characterem hypostasis patris*—the expresse *image* of his Fathers person, a sonne so begotten *of* and *in* the *substance* of the Father, that there can be nothing from it, divers, or repugning. Seeing then, in God to *understand* and *to be* are not so much parallels, as equals. *Intelligi autem sit ipsum filii esse*—as the Schoole speakes—strength of consequence will induce, that the substance of Father and Sonne, sound one both in power and everlastingnesse; in fine, for as much as the *understanding* of God is from eternitie, active, nay, the very act eternall, and that *understanding* cannot be without an *Image*, It followes that this *Image* which was conceived, the Sonne, was equall to that which did conceive, the Father, so that the eternitie of God the Sonne, and his equaltie with God the Father doth arise from that essentiall Identitie of both; for where two persons shall agree in the same essence, if the one be infinite, the other must rivall in the same eternitie. *Keck. Syst. Theol. l. 1. ca. 2.*

Here is the Rock then on which we build our Church, and the sure *Basis* where wee foot and fasten our beleefe. —*The Sonne is begotten of the essence of the Father, and alwayes begotten*,—*Non quòd quotidiè renovetur illa generatio, sed quia semper est*,—saith *Origen*, not because it is daily renovated, but because it ever—*Is*—or rather —*Was*. For Saint *Gregory* in the 29. of his *Morals*, the first Chapter, plaies as well the *Critick*, as the Divine, and is no lesse nice, than solid,—*Dominus noster Jesus Christus in eo quòd virtus & sapientia Dei est, de patre ante tempora natus est, vel potius quia nec cœpit nasci, nec desiit, dicam verius, semper* natus, *non possumus, semper* nascitur, *ne imperfectus esse videatur*—Our Lord *Jesus Christ* in that hee is the power and wisedome of God, is said to be borne of the Father before all times, or rather because there was no *beginning* or *end* of his generation, wee may speake more *Tom. 2. hom. 6. in Ierem.*

congruously, he *was* alwayes borne, not -*Is*-, for that presuppoſes ſome imperfection, and as the ſame Father proſecutes. That we may declare him both perfect and eternall, wee allow him as well a -*ſemper*- as a -*Natus*- for as much as -*Natus*- hath reference to perfection, -*ſemper*-, to eternity. However S. *Auguſtine* in his expoſition of that of the *Pſalmiſt*,—*Ego hodiè genui te*—*Thou art my Sonne, this day have I begotten thee*, *Pſal.* 2. ſayes that -*Hodiè*-*præſentiam ſignificat* and in eternity, neither is the time paſt any thing, as if it ſhould ceaſe to bee, nor time to come, as if it were not yet, but onely the time preſent, Becauſe whatſoever is eternall alwayes -*Is*- yet at length hee underſtands that place—*de ſempiterna generatione ſapientiæ Dei*— And *Lombard* deſcants on it in his firſt booke ninth diſtinction, who would have the Prophet to ſay -Genui-*nè novum putaretur*, —hodiè—*nè præterita generatio videretur*: *I have begotten thee*, leſt it ſhould be thought new, *to day*, paſt, and thence out of the authoritie of the Text or the interpretation, concludes a perpetuall generation of the Sonne from the eſſence of the Father.

Vt æternus deſignari valeat, & perfectus, & ſemper dicimus & natus, quatenus, & natus ad perfectionem pertineat, & ſemper ad æternitatem.

But here the Heretick interpoſes, and thus ſubtilly beats at the gates of reaſon; *A thing that is borne, cannot be ſaid that it was ever, for in this reſpect it is ſaid to be borne, that it might be.* S. *Hilarie*, by a modeſt anſwer, or confutation rather, limits his propoſition to things meerely ſecular, which borne here in the courſe of nature, muſt neceſſarily call on time, and tell us they ſometimes were not, it is one thing then to be borne of that which alwayes *is not*, another of that which alwayes *was*, for that is temporary, this eternall.

Lib. 12. *de Trin.*

If then it be proper to God the Father, alwayes to be Father, it muſt be to God the Sonne, alwayes to be Son; ſo the Evangeliſt,—*In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and that word was God, and the ſame was from the beginning*; *erat, erat, erat, erat, in quatuor erat, ubi impius invenit quando non erat?* Saint *Ambroſe* in his

Ioh. 1. *v.* 1.

his first to *Gratian* 5 c. & indeed it was not without a mysterie when in that glorious transfiguration on Mount *Tabor*, *Peter* saw *Christ* with *Moses*, and *Elias* (*when his face did shine as the Sunne, and his raiment was white as Snow*) what did that vision portend? *Nisi ut appareret nobis quod lex & Prophetæ cum Evangelio congruentes sempiternum Dei filium quem annunciaverant, revelarent*; *But that it should appeare unto us that the Law and the Gospell going hand in hand with Evangelicall truth* (for under *Christ*, and *Moses*, and *Elias*, Saint *Augustine* also shrines those three) *should reveale unto us the everlasting Sonne of God, whom they had both foretold and showne.* And loe yet, as if these were not Oracles loud enough for the promulgation of such a Majesty, the voyce of the Almightie fils it up with a—*Hic est meus dilectissimus. This is my beloved Sonne*, My Sonne of eternity,—*Ego ex utero ante Luciferum genuite*—, *Psal.* 34. And a sonne of mine owne substance,—*Ex ore Altissimi prodiui.*—*Wisd.* 7.—*primogenitus*—*before the day was, I am he, Esay* 43. 13.—*Unigenitus*—*A just God, and a Saviour, There is none beside mee, Esay* 45. 21. A Sonne begotten, not created, not of grace, but nature, *before*, not *in* time.

Ambros. ut supra.

Aug. in orat. ad Catech. cap. 6.

Hereupon *Christ* taking his farewell of his Disciples, *Iohn* 20. shewes them this *Intervallum* and distance of generation and adoption: *I goe to my Father, and your Father, and to my God and your*, not to *our* Father, but to *mine* and *yours*. This separation implies a diversitie, and shewes that God is his *Father* indeed, but our *Creator*; and therefore he addes, *My God and your God*; *Mine* by a privilege of *nature*, *yours* of *grace*; *Mine* out of the wombe (as it were) of *everlastingnesse*; *yours* out of the iawes of *time*. Yet the *Heretique* would faine sell us to unbeleefe and errour, by cheating *Christ* of an eternall birth-right, tossing it on the tides of time, and so make him a creature, and no God.

Here to dissent meerely were both perfunctory and dull,

dull, such a falshood merits rather defiance, than deniall, —*Negamus? potius horremus vocem*—. Errours that are so insolent are to bee explos't, not disputed, and spit at rather than contrould. Confutation swayes not here, but violence, and therefore the Apostle drives this blasphemy to the head, *Coloss.* 1. 15. Where we finde *Christ* stiled *primogenitus universæ Creaturæ, The first-borne of every creature*; not the first *created*, —*Vt genitus pro Natura, & primus pro perpetuitate creditus*—, saith *Ambrose*; *borne* presupposes divine nature —*First*, perpetuitie, and therefore when the pen of the *Holy Ghost* sets him out in his full glory, he gives him this title, —*hæredem omnium*—, *The heire of all things, by whom God made the world*—, To make the world, and to be made in it, how contradictory? *Quis Authorem inter opera sua deputet ut videatur esse quod fecit?* saith the Father. Was there ever malice so shod with ignorance, which could not divide the Artificer from his worke, the potter from his clay, the Creator from the thing created? heare him speake in whose mouth there was no guile; —*Ego & pater unum sumus, Iob.* 10. *I and the Father are one. Unum*—to shew a consent both of *power* and *eternitie*,— *Sumus*—a *perfection* of nature without *confusion*. Againe,—*Unum sumus* not—*unus sum*—(so *Augustine* descants)—*Unum* to confute the *Arrian*,—*Sumus*—the *Sabellian*, the one disjointing and severing the times of Son and Father, the other confounding their persons—*Unum*—than, to shew their essence *one*,—*Sumus*—the persons *divers*.

Amb. ut supra.

Col. 1.

Amb. 1. *de fi. ad Grat. cap.* 2.

Orat ad Catech. cap. 5.

I could wish that we were now at truce, but with these there is neither peace nor safety, but in victory; wee are still in the Front and violence of our Adversary, who puts on here as *Philip* did to *Christ*, with a —*Domine ostende nobis*—*Lord shew us the Father, and it sufficith us*, but observe how the Lord replies, and in his reply controules, and in his controulement cure's? *Have I been so long time with thee, and hast thou not knowne me, Philip?*

I came to reconcile thee to the Father, and wilt thou separate mee? Why seekest thou another? hee that hath seene mee, hath seene my Father also.—*Audi Arriane quid Dominus?* (saith *Augustine*) *si errasti cum Apostolo, redi cum Apostolo.*—Harke *Arrius* how the Lord rebukes him, and if thou hast digrest with an Apostle, returne with an Apostle, so his check shall bee thy conversion. But whilst wee thus shoulder with the *Arrian*, the *Sabellian* lies in ambush, who now comes on like lightning and thunder, but goes off like smoake; for looking back to those words of our Saviour, hee runnes on boldy to his owne paradox, and by this harmony of *Sonne* and *Father* would perswade us to a *confusion* of their persons; but the Text beares it not, and one little particle shall redeeme it from such a prepostorous interpretation; for it runnes not with a—*Qui me videt, videt patrem*, —*Hee that sees me, sees my Father*, as if I were both Father and Son, but with a-*Qui me videt*, —*&*—*patrem*, —*Hee that sees mee, sees my Father* also, *Ubi interpositio unius syllabæ, &, patrem descernit, & filium, neque demonstrat, neque patrem habere, neque filium, August.* in his *contra* 5. *host. genera cap.* 6. It is a rare opinion that hath not something to hearten it either in truth or probability, otherwise it were no lesse erroneous, than desperate. But here there can be no colour or pretence for either, where both Divinity and Arts breathe their defiance; that two natures should dissolve into one person, religion contradicts; two persons into one nature, reason; but two persons into one person, both reason and religion. —*Dixit Dominus Domino meo*, saith the Psalmist, *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit at my right hand.* Harke *Sabellius*, here is a *Lord* and a *Lord*, two then, not one; where is now thy confusion of persons? *Ego Deus solus, & non alius extra me, Deut.* 32. 12. *I am God, and there is none beside me*—*Arrius* where is thy God of *eternity*, and thy God of *power*, thy God of *time*, and *operation*, and thy God from the *beginning*? *Audi*

Audi Israel, Dominus noster Deus unus,—The Lord our God is God onely, no rivall, no sharer in his omnipotency, for if temporary, how a God? if a God, how not eternall? if eternall, how not one? Thou allowest him the *power* of God, but not the *eternity*, the *operation*, not the *time*; what prodigy of errour? what dearth of reason? what war of contradiction? what is this but to be God, and no God? temporary, and yet everlasting? Opinion once seeded in errour, shoots out into heresie, and after some growth of time, blasphemy. Who (besides an *Arrian*) could have thus molded two Gods out of one? except a *Tritheite* or a *Manichee*? who (scarce so grossely neither) denie them not an equality of *time*, but *condition*, coeternall, but this *good*, and that *evill*. Thus men over-borne with the strength of a selfe-conceit, are so precipitated and drawne on with the swindge of an unruly fancy, that leaving the road and usuall wayes of truth, they run into by-paths of errour, and so at length lose both their judgement, and their faith. Some have beene so busie with starres, that they have forgotten him that gives them influence; and like curious Lapidaries, dally so long with sparkling objects, that they lose the light of that organ which gives life unto their Art. Learning (indeed) in many is a disease, not a perfection, a meere surfeit, rather vomited, than emptied, nothing passeth but what is forced, and as sometimes with a fit of weakenesse, so of pitty. A greedy knowledge feeds not our understanding, but oppresseth it, and like a ravenous appetite chewes more to poyson, than to nourishment. Were I to drinke freely of what is sacred, I should desire that which flowes, not that which is pumped for, waters that are troubled yeeld mud, and are oftentimes as well the bane of the receiver, as the comfort. A Pioner or bold myner which digs on too farre for his rich veine of Ore, meets with a dampe which chokes him; and wee may finde some dispositions rather desperate than venturous,

curious, knowne more by a heady resolution than a wise cautelousnesse, whom we may resemble to that silly and storme-tost Seaman, who dived so long for a peece of his shipwrackt treasure, that either want of aire, or ponderousnesse of water deprived him at once of life and fortune. *Arrius* hath been so long conversant in the schoole of Philosophy, that he forgets he is a Priest, and now makes that the *Mistresse* of Divinitie, which was before the *handmaid*. Saint *Augustine* therefore in his Oration *ad Catechum.* expostulates with the hereticke, and by way of *Prosopopeia* doth catechize him thus, — *Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? Dost thou beleeve in God the Father Almightie, and in his Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord?* I beleeve, thou saiest: here then thou art mine against the *Pagan* and the *Mahometan*. *Dost thou beleeve that the God and man, Christ Jesus, was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and borne of the Virgin Maria?* I beleeve; thou art yet with me against *Photinus* and the *Jew*. *Dost thou beleeve the Father to be one person, and the Sonne another, yet Father and Sonne but one God?* and this also; here thou art mine too against the *Sabellian*. — *Age si mecum es in omnibus, quare litigamus?* saith the Father, if wee are one in all these, why contend wee? *Let there be no strife betweene thee and mee, for wee are brethren.* But it will fall out here anon as betweene *Lot* and *Abraham*, *by reason of our substance wee cannot dwell together*, wee must part anon. Tell me then how is the Sonne equall to the Father, *in operation* or *beginning*, in *power* or *eternitie*, or *both?* In *operation* and *power*, the heretique allowes, but not *eternitie*; *for how can that which was begotten bee equall to that which was not begotten?* Yes, *eternitie*, and *greatnesse*, and *power* in God sound one, for he is not *great* in one thing, and *God* in another, but in this *great*, that hee is *God*, because his *greatnesse* is the same with his *power*, and his *essence* with his *greatnesse*. Seeing then the sonne is *coequall* in respect of *power*, he must be *coeternall* too in respect of

everlastingnesse. Here the *Arrian* is on fire, and nothing can allay or quench these flames but that which gives them an unkindly foment, Reason. To prove a principle in nature is bout troublesome and difficult, but in religion without the assent of faith, impossible. In matters of reason, it is first *discourse*, then *resolve*, but in those of religion, first *believe*, and the effect will follow, whether for confession of the truth, or conviction of errour, or both. The greatest miracles our Saviour did in way of cure or restauration was with a—*si credas*—, and that to the *living*, and the *dead*, and between those, the *sicke*. To the Centurion for his servant with a—*sicut credisti*—, *As thou beleevest, so be it unto thee*, *Matth.* 8. 5. To the Ruler of the *Synagogue* for his daughter, with a—*Credas*—to a—*Feare not, but beleeve*, *Mar.* 5. 36. To all that are dumbe, or blinde, or lame in mysteries of Divinitie, as to those dumbe, or blinde, or lame in body, with a—*Vtrum credatis? Do you beleeve these things? Then your faith hath made you whole*, *Matth.* 9. 28. but if we meet with unweildy dispositions, such as are not only untractable, but opposite to the waies of faith, we shall rather drag than invite them to beleefe; however the Father labours here by a powerfull perswasion, and where hee failes in the strength of proofe, hee makes it out by way of allusion, which he illustrates by a similitude of *fire* and *light*, which are distinct things, one proceeds from another, neither can the one be possibly without the other, the *father* he resembles to the *fire*, the *sonne* to the *light*, and endevours to derive it (though obliquely somewhat) from sacred storie in *Deut.* 4. 24. *God* is called a *fire*, —*For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire*; in *Ps.* 8. *Christ* the *light*, *Thy word is a light unto my steps*. With this double stone he batters the forehead both of the *Sabellian*, and the *Arrian*; first of the *Sabellian*, for here are two in one, *fire* and *light*, yet two still not one, why not so with *Sonne* and *Father*? The *Arrian* next, for here also is one borne of another, yet the one not possibly to be

borne

borne without the other, neither of them first and last; fire and light coequall, Father and Sonne so too. The similitude jarres onely in this, those are *temporary*, and these *eternall*, — *pater ergo & filius unum sunt* (saith the Father) — *Sunt-dico, quia pater & filius, -unum- quia Deus; dualitas in prole, unitas in deitate, cum dico filius, alter est, cum dico Deus, unus est, cont. 5. host. genera cap. 7.* What more obvious and trodden to the thinnest knowledge, than that there is here *-alius* and *-alias*, but not *-aliud*, as in bels of equall magnitude and dimension, (pardon the lownesse of the similitude) which though framed out of the same *masse*, and *Art*, where the *substance* and *workmanship* are one, yet the *sound* is divers; for though of Sonne and Father the *Substance* be one as *God*, yet the appellation and *sound* is divers, as *Sonne* and *Father*.

The Heretique either impatient of this truth, or ignorant, once more makes reason his empire, but how sinisterly, how injuriously? that which should be the mistresse of our sense, and the Sterne and arbitresse of all our actions, must now be a promotresse and bawd to error. It is bold expostulation that runs us on these shelves of danger, and hath beene the often wracke of many a blooming and hopefull truth. There are errors besides these desperate, of will, of understanding, which sometimes are rather voluntary, than deliberative, and ballaced more by the suggestions of a weake fancy, than any strength of judgement; If our thoughts still lie at Hull in those shallowes of nature, where we coast daily about sense and reason, how can wee but dash against untimely errours? but if we keepe aloofe in principles of Religion, where those winds of doubt and distrust swell and bluster not, faith will be at last our wafter unto truth. Let's not then any longer root our meditations in vallies under us, but looke up to *those hills from whence our salvation commeth.* Let's converse a little with Prophets and Evangelists, and those other Registers and Secreta-

ries of the Almightie. — *In te est Deus, & non est Deus prater te*, *Esay* 45. 5. Infidell, either denie a divinitie of *Father*, or *Sonne*, or confesse an *unitie* of both; for one thou must doe; of the *Sonne* thou canst not, for there is a God in him; the *Father*, *Pater qui in me manet ipse loquitur*, the *Father that is in me he speaketh, and the workes which I doe he doth*, *Ioh.* 10. of the *Father* thou dar'st not, there is a God in him the *Sonne*, — *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*, *Ioh.* 14. Here then is both a *proprietie of nature*, and *unitie of consent*. *God* in *God*, yet not *two*, but *one*, fulnesse of divinitie in the *Father*, fulnesse in the *Son*, yet the *Godhead* not *divers*, but the *same*, so that now there is no lesse a singlenesse of *name* than *operation*. And therefore those words of the Apostle, though in the first encounter and survay, they offer a shew of contradiction, yet searched to the quicke and kernell, are not without a mysterious weight, *Rom.* 8. 32. It is said of the Father, —*Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit*—. *He spared not his owne Sonne, but* gave *him for us all to death*; yet *Ephes.* 5. It is said of the Sonne, —*Tradidit semetipsum pro nobis*—, —*Hee gave himselfe for us*—. Here is a double —*Tradidit*— an a —*pro nobis*—, and a —*se pro nobis*—, if he was *given* of the Father, and yet *gave* himselfe, how can it follow, but that there must be both a sympathy of *nature* and *operation*? And indeed it were a meere sacriledge and robbery of their honour, to deprive them of this so sacred a correspondence. Wee allow to all beleevers but one soule and one heart, *Acts* 4. to all those that cleave to God *one spirit*, 1 *Cor.* 16. to husband and wife *one flesh*, to all men in respect of nature, but *one substance*; If in sublunary matters (where there is no alliance or reference with those more sacred) Scriptures approve many to be one, shall we rifle the Father and the Sonne of the like Jurisdiction, and deny them to be *eternally one*, where there is no jarre of *will*, or *substance*? Heare how the Apostle doth chalke out away to our beleefe, by the

rules

rules of divine truth, 1 *Cor.* 8. 6. *There is one God which is the Father, of whom are all things, and wee of him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and wee by him.* Here is -*Deus*- and -*Dominus*-, a *God* and a *Lord*, and yet no pluralitie of *God-head*, and an -*ex quo*- and a -*per quem*,-*of whom* and *by whom*, yet a unitie of *power*, for as in that he sayes *one Lord Jesus Christ*, he denied not the *Father* to be *Lord*, so by saying one God the *Father*, he denied not the *Sonne* to be *God*.— *Ita te igitur est Deus per unitatem naturæ, & non est Deus* præter te *propter proprietatem substantiæ. Ambros. lib.* 1. *de fide ad Gratian.* 2. *cap.* With what sacred inscriptions do we find him blazoned, the *ingraven forme of his Father*, the *image of his goodnesse*, the *brightnesse of his glorie?* and with these three of an Apostle, a Prophet rankes other three not subordinate in majestie or truth; as if the same inspiration had dictated both matter and forme. *Counsellor*, the *Almightie God*, the *everlasting Father*, the *everlasting Father* in a double sense, either as he is *author* of it, as *Jubal* was said to be the *Father* of Musicke, when he was but the *Author* or Inventor; or in respect of his *affection*, because he loves with an *everlasting love*; yet some leaning on the word of the Greeke Interpreter μέλλοντος, which the vulgar renders, — *Pater futuri sæculi* — would restraine it onely to the life to comes, but *Calvin* extends it to a perpetuitie of time and continued *Series* of all ages; And the *Chaldee* translation (which with the *Hebrew* is most authentique) seemes not onely to assent to it, but applaud it too. —*Nomen ejus abante mirabilis consilio, Deus fortis, permanens in sæcula sæculorum.*—. However the *Septuagint* (terrified with the majestie of so great a name) give it us by —*Magni Consilii Angelus*—; which words though they have no footing in the originall, yet both *Augustine* and *Tertullian* approve the sense, taking —*Angelus*— for —*Nuncius*—, so that *Christ* tooke not upon him the *nature* of an Angell (as some would injuriously solze upon

Esay 9. 6.

In cap. 9. Esay.

Origens opinion) but the *office*, by which as a *Legate* or *Mediator*, rather he appeared to those *Patriarchs* of old, *Abraham* and the rest, *Gen.* 18. 3.

I have once more brought Christ as farre as *Jacob* and *Abraham*, but the Text tels mee a little farther, and so doth my adversarie too, till I have verified in *Christ* the strength of that voice, *I am the* God *of Abraham*, and the *God* of *Jacob*. We may not leave him here with the bare title of an *Angell*, we must goe higher, to that of the *Sonne of God*, where we shall meet our implacable *Arrian* in his violent opposition. *If there be a Sonne, he must be borne, if borne, there was a time when there was no Sonne; for to bee borne, presupposes a beginning, and that time*, Saint *Augustine* divided (as it seemes) betweene pitie and indignation, answers; *Qui hoc dicit non intelligit etiam natum esse, Deo sempiternum esse. To be borne with God, is to be eternall with God*, and he opens himselfe by his old similitude, *Sicut splendor qui gignitur ab igne*, as light which is begotten of fire, and diffused, is coequall with the fire, and would be coeternall too if fire were eternall, so the Sonne with the Father, *this* being before all time, the *other* must kisse in the same *everlastingnesse*. The Father thinking his reason built too slenderly, doth buttresse (as it were) and backe it with the authoritie of an Apostle, such an Apostle as was sometimes a persecutor, and therefore his authoritie most potent against a persecutor, where he stiles Christ, *The power and wisdome of God*. If the Sonne of God be the power and wisdome of God, and that God was never without *power* and *wisdome*, how can we scant the Sonne of a coeternitie with the Father? For either wee must grant that there was alwayes a Sonne, or that God had sometimes no wisdome, and imprudencie or madnesse were never at such a growth of blasphemie as to belch the latter. If the reverend allegation of a learned Prelate, or those more sacred of an Apostle, cannot hung in the mouth of a malicious Here-

1 Cor. 1.

tique,

tique, heare the voice of a Prophet, of a Father warbling upon that too. *Before me there was no other God, and after me there shall be none, Esay* 43. 10. *Quis hoc dicit, pater, an filius?* (saith *Ambrose*) who is here the speaker, the Father or the Sonne (he comes over him with a subtill *Dilemma*:) if the Sonne, thus he saith, — *before me there was no other God*, if the Father, — *After me* (saith he) *there shall be none*, for both the Father in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father must be knowne, when thou nameſt a Father, thou haſt alſo deſigned a Sonne, becauſe no man is a Father to himſelfe; when thou nameſt a Sonne, thou confeſſeſt alſo a Father, for no man is Sonne to himſelfe; the Sonne therefore can neither ſubſiſt without the Father, nor the Father without the Sonne, the one being from everlaſting, we may not depoſe the other from the like omnipotency. If truth ſhall twiſted in a triple authoritie of *Prophets, Apoſtles, Fathers*, cannot allay the turbulency of a contagious hereticque, heare the voyce of him who ſpake as never man ſpake; never Father, Apoſtle, Prophet, (if at length ſuch an authoritie be paſſable with an *Arrian*) the Lambe of God, *O Father glorifie mee with thine owne ſelfe, with the glorie which I had with thee before the world was, Joh.* 17. 5. Heareſt thou Infidel? a Sonne, and glorified, with the Father before the world? what chinke now, what by-path for evaſion where thou art compaſſed with ſuch a cloud of witneſſes?

Tell me devill (for hereticke is too cheape and low an attribute, when thou art growne to ſuch a maturitie and height of prophanation) was there a time when omnipotent God the Father was not, and yet was there a God? *Gird now up thy loynes, and anſwer if ſtrong enough*, for if he began to be a Father, then he was firſt a God, and after made a Father, how is God then immutable, how the ſame one, when by acceſſe of generation he ſhall ſuffer change? Graunt mee then a God eternall; and thou muſt a Father, and if a Father, a Sonne too, they are relatives,

tives, and cannot digest a separation either in respect of time, or power. And this thou didst once subscribe to (and I know not what devillish suggestion wrought thy revolt) in an Epistle to *Eusebius*, if the authoritie of *Brentius* will passe for classicall, where thou couldst afford him the stile of πλήρης θεὸς μονογενής, *plenus Deus, unigenitus*- and a little before that he had his beginning, τὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων — *ante tempora, ante sæcula*, why shouldst thou now then rip up the wombe of Deitie, and enquire how hee was begotten? how borne? and when? as if thou labouredst to bastard his descent, and make it temporarie. Doe not, doe not out of the custome of humane generation tie eternitie to time, or manner, and so at once vomit errour and blasphemie. Heare the voice of the Lord thundring unto thee, *Cui me similem existimas?* who is like unto mee, or to whom is the arme of the Lord revealed? *Me ante montes generavit Dominus*, before the mountaines were setled, or the hils raised, I was brought forth. *Habeat ergo generationis inusitatæ gloriam, qui habet potestatis inusitatæ gratiam.* He that hath an unwonted Jurisdiction in respect of power, it were a derogation too capitall to lessen his prerogative in way of birth; observe what pompe he carrieth of antiquity, what descent, how derived? by *Heraulds* of no meane ranke, a *King*, and a *Prophet*, and a Prophet that's a *King*, *I was set up of old, from everlasting*, Prov. 8. 24. *His goings forth have beene from everlasting*, Mich. 5. 2. *Thy throne is established of old, thou art from everlasting*, Psal. 93. 2. Harke, from *everlasting*, from *everlasting*, from *everlasting*, one ecchoing to another, as if the same pen had beene as well the directrix of the languages, as the truth. If thou shalt then hereafter ball an eternitie with a—*quando*, or a—*quomodo natus?* I goe on with the Father still, *Quid te ista quæstionum tormenta delectant? Audis Dei filium, aut dele nomen, aut agnosce naturam:* —*Quæres* that are too nice rather torment the understanding, than informe it, and are more

Ambros. 1. de fide, cap. 5.

Amb. ut sup.

more apt to puzzle our Judgement, than to rectifie it. Subtilty of queſtions (I know not whether) it hath more convinced, or begotten errour, or improved us in our knowledge, or ſtaggered us. And hence I ſuppoſe was the ſubſtance of the Apoſtles advice to the *Romanes*, *Hee that is weake in faith receive you*; but not to doubtfull diſputations, *Cap.* 14. 1. Curioſities of queſtion have ever been the engines and ſtales to hereſie, and therefore ſome of the Fathers have nick-named *Philoſophers* with an —*Hereticorum Patriarchæ*—. It is no leſſe a policy than right in ſadder learning, to give Divinitie the chaire, for if Arts with their ſubtle retinue once invade it, ſenſe and reaſon will hiſſe faith out of doores. And therefore we finde the ſame Apoſtle vehement in his — *Cavete ne vos ſeducat*, Beware leſt any man *ſpoile you through Philoſophy and vaine deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt*, Coloſſ. 2. 4. In matters of faith he that playes either the Philoſopher, or the Criticke, diſplayes neither his Judgement, nor his Religion, for *the kingdome of God is not in word, but in power*, 1 Cor. 4. 20. *Conſidera* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *quod voceris fidelis non rationalis*, Faith, not reaſon, is our Anchor in this depth, and beleefe, not ſcruple, is our ſteerſman to our Port. Wiſdome, I meane that which is worldly and feathered (as it were) with tranſitorineſſe, muſt now ſtoope to ſimplicitie, ſtrength to weakneſſe. How doth the Apoſtle jumpe with us? *Hee hath choſen the fooliſh things of this world to confound the wiſe, and the weake things the mightie*, 1 Cor. 1. 27. Hence it is that the kingdome of heaven belongs unto children, *Matth.* 19. 13. And God hath hid it from the prudent, and revealed it to babes, *Matth.* 11. 25. and therefore S. *Auguſtine* makes a proud knowledge ſtrike ſaile to a modeſt ignorance in his 188. *Ser. de Temp.* — *Meum eſt piè ignorantiam confiteri, quam temere mihi ſcientiam vindicare.* In ſacred matters your nimble Criticiſmes are as ob-

Tertull.

noxious to desperatnesse; as danger; to be curious (here) is to be quaintly madde, and thus to thrust into the bed-chamber of the Almightie is a franticke sawcinesse. Who can unlocke those Coffers of omnipotency, *but he that breakes in peeces the gates of Brasse, and cuts in sunder the barres of Iron?* Who those Cabinets of abstruser knowledge? but he *that gives thee the treasure of darknesse, and hidden riches of secret places?* How can our low built apprehensions but flag in the expression of such a birth, when wee finde a Prophet so transported with contemplation of it, that he dares the world with an Interrogation, — *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Who shall declare his generation*, Esay 53. Yet we have met with some supercilious and daring wits, which venture here to untwist this mysterie of generation, as if they would calculate an eternall birth-right, leaning upon the authoritie of S. *Hierom* in his Commentaries upon *Eccl.* 1. where he assevers, that in sacred Scriptures — *Quis* oftentimes is not put for an *impossibilitie*, but a *difficultie*. And he instances in this — *Quis* — of *Esay*, *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?* But *Lumbard* doth both vindicate and interpret the Father, thus, — *Non dicit quod generatio filii æterna* —. He sayes not that this eternall generation of the sonne of God can descend to any mortall capacitie in an absolute and full knowledge; but in some measure and degree, for so the Apostle doth peece-out our perfection here, *Wee are happy in part, and know onely in part*, not a haire, not a feather as we should. *Dic mihi* (saith *Augustine*) *altitudinem Cœli, profundum Abyssi, &c.* Shew me the height of Heaven, and the depth of Hell, number (if thou canst) the sands of the Sea, the drops of raine, or the haires of thine owne head. Plane mee out by some perfect demonstration the truth of those things which grovell here below, and I will beleeve thy knowledge may aspire to those which are above; but thou hast no power of compassing the one, nor possibilitie in the atchievement

Esay 45. 2.

Idem, ibid.

Lib. 1. dist. 19.

Orat. contra Arrianos.

ment of the other. For when all thy faculties of *understanding, will,* have fluttered so high as the wings of nature can elevate and mount them to, yet thou wilt at last make up the storie of *Icarus*, and finde that these are but waxen plumes, and will melt at the presence of those glorious beames, and so thy fall will be as dishonourable as thy attempt was peremptory; for if the great Doctour of the *Gentiles* (rapt up into the third Heaven) said that hee heard words unexpressable, which no tongue dared to utter, how canst thou dissolve and untie — *Paternæ generationis Arcana* — (as *Ambrose* stiles them) those knots and Riddles of eternall generation, which can never bore a humane intellect, nor lie within the verge of mortall apprehension? *Mihi enim impossible est generationis scire secretum* (saith the Father) *mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed & Angelorum, supra potestates, & supra Cherubin, & supra Seraphin, & supra omnem sensum*, in his 1. *de fide ad Gratian. c.* 4. It is not then so much ambition in our desire, as madnesse, to attempt the knowledge of that where there is an impossibilitie of revelation. Those enterprizes are temerarious and over-head-strong, which put on where there is not onely danger, but a despaire of conquest. How can reasonable man but lie buried under the weight of such a mysterie, at which those grand pillars of the Church have not only shooke but shrunke? How must wee be strucke dumbe when the tongues of Saints and Angels stutter? How our mindes entranced, when the glorious host of Heaven, and all those feathered *Hierarchies* shall clap their wings? All reasons tongue-tyed, all apprehension non-plust, all understanding darkned; so that I may now speake of this metaphoricall depth, as *Job* did of that other naturall, — *Thou hast made a cloud the garment thereof, and thicke darknesse a swadling band.*

Mysteries carrie with them such an awe and Majestie, as if they would be obeyed, not disputed, and assented to,

not controverſt. In ſecrets without bottome (ſuch as carry the ſtampe of ſacred) except faith holds us up like children we ſwimme without bladders, and muſt either dabble to the ſhore, or ſinke, reaſon hath not an hand to lend us. Faith and reaſon in reſpect of myſterie, are as a wheele and a bucket at a deepe well; faith hath both the power and ſafetie of deſcent, and nimbly fathoms it, whilſt reaſon wheeles, and rounds it, and is ſtrangely giddied in a diſtracted *Gyre*. And indeed who durſt lave ſuch an Ocean, but he *that ſayes to the deepes be drie? or can ſhut up the Seas with doores, that they breake not out, and ſay, hither ſhalt thou come, no further, there ſhall thy proud waues ſtay?* What eye that lookes on the Sunne, and dazels not, but he *that ſees from everlaſting to everlaſting? and ſends out lightning that they may come and goe, and ſay, here we are?* The ſtarre-gazer and bold figure-flinger are at a ſtand here, why lookeſt thou up thou proud Aſtrologer? you men of *Galilee*, why gaze you into heaven? Thus ſaith the Lord of hoaſts, he that form'd thee from the wombe: *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that ſtretcheth out the heavens alone, that fruſtrateth the tokens of lyars, and maketh diviners mad, that turneth wiſe men backwards, and maketh their knowledge fooliſhneſſe. Thou, O Lord, ſhalt have them in deriſion, thou ſhalt laugh the heathen to ſcorne, for the ſinne of their mouth, and the words of their lips they ſhall be taken in their pride, as the duſt (O Lord) ſhalt thou drive and ſcatter them, and in thy wrath thou ſhalt conſume them, that they may know that it is God that ruleth in Jacob, and to the end of the world.*

Eſay 44. 7.

Iob 38. 8.

Eccluſ. 10.19.

Eſay 44.24,25.

Arius is now in his pompe and height of glory, and flouriſheth like a greene bay-tree, anon looke after him, and he is no where to be found. He is up yet, but it is with the proud man in the *Pſalmes*, *in ſlippery places*, and (anon) with him, how ſuddenly deſtroyed, periſhed, and brought to a fearefull end? The whole Eaſterne Church is now in a ſtrange combuſti-

on,

on, and he muſt kindle it, by and by thoſe flames ſhall light him to his owne ruine. Hereſie may root, and bud, and branch, and grow to a goodly height, but the hand of vengeance hovers over it, and when it ſtrikes, it fels it at a blow, and it comes downe like a pine from a ſteepe mountaine, which in the fall ſhatters both the branch and body. It is here, as with miſts and fogs, which wee ſee firſt riſe as in a thin ſmoake from a low Fen or Valley, but gathering ſtrength climbe the mountaine, and at laſt ſo thicken in one bodie of vapours, that they ſeeme to dare the Earth with a ſecond night, till the Sunne (recovering height and power) by the vertue and ſubtiltie of his beames, doth diſſipate and open them, and they are ſeene no more.

Will you have a preſident? wee finde *Arrius* at firſt a meane Prieſt of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, a man keene and ſubtill, as well in wit as learning, *Specie & forma magis, quàm virtute religioſus, ſed gloriæ, & novitatis improbè cupidus*, (ſaith *Ruffinus*) In vertue not ſo much refined, as in the deportment of the outward man, which promiſed a ſet gravitie, though no truth of Religion, in a thirſt and purſuit of honour and noveltie, ſtrangely violent, — *Dulcis erat in colloquio, perſuadens animas, & blandiens*. In his diſcourſe no leſſe ſweet than powerfull, and where he gaines no conqueſt by perſwaſion, he mines by flattery; Thus by the ſorceries and enchantments of a voluble tongue, ſimplicitie is betrayed, and under a pretext of truth, filly women (who are ever moſt affected with levitie and change) are firſt led captive; and theſe, for the enhancement and propagation of their new doctrine, commerce with their allies, and theſe tickled with new fancies, applaud the deſigne, entertaine the noveltie, conventicles are both conſulted on, and ſummoned, and in a ſhort time, - *Septingentas virginitatem profeſſas in unam contraxit* — So *Epiphanius* —. Their Religion is yet in the blade, and greene onely in a few ſhe-diſciples, anon

Lib. 1.

Adverſ. Hæreſ.

it growes up by their league with others, *Eudoxius*, *Eunomius*, *Ætius* and *Demophilus*, *plura nomina, sed una perfidia*; Coheires thogh not to the same title, the same villany; so that those dangerous tumults in the body of the Church, could not but now startle the Head and Governour. *Constantine* is informed of those pernicious and desperate proceedings, who cals a Councell of 318. Bishops for the condemnation of the Heretique. Some conversant in subtiltie of question (as there was never opinion so deformed, but found a Champion to propugne it) favoured *Arrius*; but at length most of them decreed with one mouth Christ to be ὁμοούσιον, 17 a while sticke fast to the opinion of the Heretique, 11 whereof by the menacing of the Emperour subscribed, *Manu solum, non mente*, and the other six are now with *Arrius* upon termes of exile; they betake themselves to *Palestina*, where partly by strength of Argument, partly by the insinuations of a smooth tongue, they gaine other Bishops to their opinion; anon, *Constantius* and *Valens*, Emperours; some they seduce by subtiltie, some by gifts, some by power, some by crueltie; those that affied constantly to the profession of Christs divinitie, they invade by persecution, and all the wittie tortures that malice or tyrannie could devise, are now put in practice, for the torment of those professors; in so much that the hearts of their verie enemies, could not but thaw into pitie to heare the cryes, but constancie of little children under the barbarous hands of their mercilesse tormentors. *Christianus sum, Christum verum Deum, credo, & adoro*, as the author in his *Historia tripartita de persequutione Vandalorum*.

Ambr. 1. de fide, cap. 4.

This heresie now is full blowne, and at the growth; one Act more makes it ripe, and ready for the sickle. *Alexandria* is yet infected, and foule dregs of *Arrianisme* reigne not onely here, but in the neighbour Provinces; In so much that *Alexander* (then Bishop) daily pestered with those damned innovations, on a Sunday,

(for

(for ſo my *Antiquarie* tels me) earneſtly prayed that God would either take him away, leſt he ſhould be defiled with the like contagion, or that he would ſhew ſome miracle, either for the converſion or confuſion of the Heretique. Not long after, the deſires of the holy man were accompliſhed, and in ſuch a way of judgement, that the relation would ſute better with a ring of Scavengers than a noble throng, his bowels burſt, as ſometimes *Iudas* did, *Et ſic finem adeptus eſt, in loco immundo & graveolenti*, - his death was equally odious with his life, and that with the place he died in, no ſad retinue or pompe of exequie to embalme him, no hearſe or winding ſheet, but his owne entrailes, and grav'd up with excrements, in ſtead of earth, an end as odious as untimely, as if it proceeded from the hand of vengeance, and not Fate. *Epiphanius.*

And ſo Saint *Ambroſe* dilates on it — *Non eſt fortuita mors ubi in ſacrilegio pari, pœna parile proceſſit exemplum, ut idem ſubirent ſupplicium, qui eundem Dominum negaverunt & eundem Dominum prodiderunt*—. It is no caſuall, but a deſtinated end, that in a like ſacrilege, there ſhould be a like example of puniſhment, and ſo both meet in one way of ruine, which had denied and betrayed their Maſter. 1 *de fide, cap.* 5.

I have now brought this hereſie to her grave, but the funerall of this is the reſurrection of another, and the reintertainment of that, of a third. No part of Chriſt (either in reſpect of his divinitie or man-hood) but is the mint of a new hereſie, which (if I ſhould endevour (here) either to confute or open) would prove an undertaking fitter for a volume, than a diſcourſe; and for a Librarie, than a volume. It coſt the houres of an entire age, and the ſweat and elaborateneſſe of all the Fathers. Thoſe few ſands which are now in their conſtant courſe, will be runne out in the very nomination of *Marcionites, Valentinians, Hebionites, Apollinarians*, and the reſidue of that curſed rabble, and ſo I ſhall be caſt upon your cenſures, if

if not as I have beene weake, yet as I have beene tedious. I will then open the mouthes of very Heathens, and they ſhall both ſpeake and confirme this truth, and no leſſe appoſe our adverſaries than convince them, an authoritie I know not how unſavoury or unſeaſonable to a divided Auditorie, where a prophane quotation ſounds ſometimes as heatheniſh as a tradition, which in the verie name is cri'd downe as Apocryphall and Romaniſh; but I muſt put that upon the hazard, not eſteeming the froth either of popular cenſure or approbation.

Heathens indeed are little above the condition of beaſts, if that onely actuate a man which animates a Chriſtian, the ſoule of faith; yet if God pleaſe to caſt his pearles before theſe ſwine, wherefore hath he made us Lords over them, but to vindicate thoſe hallowed and precious things from the hands of unjuſt poſſeſſors? *Præclara Ethnicorum dicta Theologica ab iis, tanquàm injuſtis poſſeſſoribus, in uſum noſtrum transferenda.* It is *Auguſtines* in his ſecond booke *De Doctrina Chriſtiana* 4. *Chap.* Divine truth in Heathen mouthes, is like the Jewels in Ægyptian hands, there wants no Alchymiſt to refine the metall, onely ſome diſcreeter Iſraelite to transferre the uſe: he that was brought up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, preaching to the ignorant Idolaters of *Athens*, concludes againſt them from the mouth of their owne Poets, —τῶ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν, as ſome of your owne Poets have ſaid, *Act.* 17. 28. Text enough to gaine, I ſay, not authoritie, but applauſe to his diſcourſe, and to convince the Heathens ſhame, if not their faith. Dive with me a little farther into their ſecrets, and we ſhall find amongſt much *Hay* and *Stubble*, ſome *Gold* and *Precious ſtones*, doctrines which want no truth to make them ſound, onely divine authoritie to make them authentique. It was not impoſſible that the true light which ſhines on everie man that commeth into the world, ſhould glimpſe into thoſe that *ſate in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death*; For old

Sim-

Simplicianus in S. *Auguſtines* Confeſſions 8. Booke 2. Chapter, gives incouragement to a particular inquirie, and concludes in certaine bookes of the Platoniſts—*Deum inſinuari, & ejus verbum*—. And of this *God*, and the *Word*, the very Philoſophers were not ignorant, for wee meet with a *Hermes*, and a—*Zenon*, ſtiling the maker and orderer of the Univerſe—λόγον,—*The Word*—which they inlarge with other attributes of—*Fate, neceſſitie, God*—and what ſavours a little of a heatheniſh relique—*Animum Jovis*—taking—*Jupiter*—in the ſenſe that they doe *God*, as *Lactantius* in his 4. booke *de vera Sapient. cap. 9.*

But why doe wee rob them of their maiden-honour, and take their ſayings upon Tradition meerly? let them ſpeake themſelves in their peculiar and mother-tongue. *Numenius*, a famous Pythagorian (one, who twixt *Plato* and *Moſes*, put no difference but of Language, calling *Plato-Moſen*, *Attica Lingua Loquentem*, —*Moſes* ſpeaking the Atticke Dialect) *Deus primus* (ſaith hee) *in ſeipſo quidem exiſtens, eſt ſimplex, propterea quod ſecum ſemper eſt, nunquam diviſus; Secundus, & tertius eſt unus*: The firſt God is alwaies exiſtent in himſelfe, ſimple, indiviſible, the ſecond and third one; and a little after, he calls this firſt God—*Creantis Dei patrem*,—*The father of the creating God.* Had they all adored what hee here acknowledged, a Trinitie in unitie (ſo to bee worſhipped) I ſhould then propoſe their precept not onely to bee embraced, but their practice to be imitated. Search on, and loe that rich Mine of Truth is not yet at her droſſe, or bottome, for *Heraclitus* next, one who was wont to call S. *John, Barbarian*, that Evangeliſt to whom belonged the Eagle, as well for ſublimitie of Stile, as Contemplation; hee—*cenſet verbum Dei in ordine Principii, atque dignitate conſtitutum, apud Deum eſſe, & Deum eſſe, in quo quicquid factum ſit, fuerit vivens, & vita, & ens, tum in corpora Lapſum, carnemque induſum, hominem apparuiſſe, oſtendens etiam tunc naturæ ſuæ magnitudinem*: Harke

how the *Frog* chaunts like the *Nightingale*, (It is *Maximilians*, *Ethnici audiendi, non tanquam Philomelæ, sed Ranæ*) and curiously counterfeits her in everie straine? How closely this obscure Heathen followes not onely the Gospels truth, but the phrase too? *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and was God, all things were made by him, every living Creature, life, and thing, then this Word was made flesh, and appeared man*, and *even then shewed the glorie of his nature.* How sweetly hee warbles with his Barbarian, as if by an easie labour of Translation hee had bereft him both of Truth and Eloquence? I marvell not now at that Testimonie of *Basil the Great*, upon those words, *In principio erat verbum——Hoc ego novi, multos etiam extra veritatis rationem positos*—I have knowne many (saith hee) and those put without the pale and list of divine Truth, men meerely secular, advancing and magnifying this peece of Scripture, and at length bold to mix it with their owne decrees and writings. And S. *Augustine* seconds it with an instance—*Quidam Platonicus*—A certaine Platonist was wont to say that *the beginning of S. Johns Gospell was worthy to bee written in letters of gold, and preached in the most eminent Churches and Congregations*, in his 10. booke *de Civitate Dei, c.* 29. O the divine raptures and infusions that God doth sometimes betroth to his very enemies! who can but conceive that as the very worst of men have knowledge enough to make them inexcusable; so the best of Heathen had enough to make them Saints, were their faith that hee should bee their Saviour, as great as their knowledge, that hee was the Sonne of God. With what rich Epithetes they bedeck and crowne him—*Mentis Germen, Verbum Lucens, Dei Filius*, (it is his saying, who (I know not by what search) found out almost all Truth, *Mercurius Trismegistus*) *the minds blossome, the word that gave light, the Sonne of God.* What else did S. *John* adde, but that the Word *was* light? And S. *Augustine* give

gives this farther teſtimonie of that heathen, that he ſpake many things of Chriſt in a propheticke manner—*eadem veritate, licèt non eodem Animi affectu*—with the ſame truth the Prophets did, but not with the ſame affection—*pronunciabat illa Hermes—. Dolendo, pronunciabat hæc Propheta, gaudendo*—in his 8. booke *de Civitate Dei*, 23. chapter. And why ſhould we barre ſome of their Philoſophers of a propheticke knowledge, when a Poet ſhall fill his cheekes with a—*Chara Deum Soboles, Magnum Jovis incrementum*—? And if wee looke backe to thoſe Oracles of old, the *Sybills* ſacred Raptures, we ſhall finde them more like a Chriſtians Comment, than a Heathens Prediction.

Tunc ad mortales veniet, mortalibus ipſis
In terris ſimilis, natus Patris omnipotentis
Corpore veſtitus—.

Whereof if wee inquire a little into the originall, S. *Auguſtine* will tell us that the Greeke copies give us, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς υἱὸς Θεοῦ σωτὴρ — *Jeſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God, the Saviour*; and it is not only probable, but evident, that the Gentiles had a knowledge of Chriſt as hee was the *Word*, as it appeareth by that of *Serapis* unto *Thulis*, *King of Ægypt*. And it is ſtrangely remarkable, what wonderfull Titles and Inſcriptions the *Platoniſts* dedicate to his name and memorie, with which (as with a wreath and Laurell) they girt and beautify his Temples, *Dei verbum, Mundi Opifex, Idæa boni, Mundi Archetypum, Moderator, Diſtributor, Imago primi entis, rationalis Creaturæ exemplar, Paſtor, Sacerdos, Ulna humens, Lux, Sol, Cœlumque candens, mentis germen divinæ, Verbum Lucidum, Filius primogenitus, primi Dei ſemper viventis Umbra, Vita, Splendor, Virtus, Candor lucis, Character ſubſtantiæ ejus*, and the like, which could not but flow from a heart divinely toucht, and a tongue ſwolne with inſpiration, as *Roſſelus* tells

In oration. contra Arrian. περὶ τῆ Θεὸς, &c.

tels us in his *Trismegisti Pimandrum*, 1 booke, 107. *page*. For these and the like sayings, some of the ancient Fathers have conjectured that *Plato* either read part of divine storie, or whilst he travelled in Ægypt, had a taste of sacred truth, out of the sayings of the Hebrewes by an *Amanuensis*, or interpreter; for then many of the Hebrews (the Persians reigning) wandred in Ægypt.

Moreover, *Aristobulus* the Jew, who flourished in the time of the *Machabees*, writing to *Ptolomie Philometora*, *King of Ægypt*, reports that the *Pentateuch* before the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, and the *Persian* Monarchy was translated out of Hebrew into Greeke, part whereof came to the hands of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*; and hee is after peremptory, that the *Peripatetickes* out of the bookes of *Moses*, and the writings of the Prophets drew the greatest part of their Philosophie, and it may seeme strange what the Jewish Antiquarie traditions of *Clearchus* (the most noble of that Sect) who in his first—*de somno*—brings in his Master *Aristotle* relating that hee met with a certaine Jew, a reverent and a wise man, with whom he had much conference concerning matters both naturall and divine, and received from him such a hint and specialty of choicer learning which did much improve him in his after knowledge, especially in that of God, as *Josephus*, *lib.* 1. *contra Appionem*, & *Eusebius* in his 11. *de præparat. Evangelica c.* 6. *Clement. Alexandrin.* 5. *Stromaton.*

And thus I have at length (though with some blood and difficultie) traversed the opinions of the ancient, and shewed you the errours of primitive Times in their foulest shapes. I have opened the wiles and stratagems of the adversarie, and how defeated by the chariots of *Israel*, and the horsemen thereof; what Bulwarks and Rampiers the Fathers raised for propugning of Christs divinitie, and how besieged by cursed heresies, with what successe, what ruine.

Let us now returne where we began, and place Christ where

where we found him, before *Abraham*, before the world, where (me thinkes) he now ſtands like a well-rooted tree in a rough ſtorme, where though windes blow on him ſo furiouſly, that hee is ſometimes forced to the earth (as if he were meerely humane) yet hee bends againe, and nods towards Heaven (to ſhew that hee is divine, and but a plant taken thence grafted in our *Eden* here) where though toſt up and downe with blaſts of Infidelitie, yet when the envy of their breath is ſpent (as we ſee a goodly Cedar after a tempeſt) he ſtands ſtrait, un-rent, as if he ſcorned the ſhock of his late churliſh encounter, and dared his bluſtring Adverſary to a ſecond oppoſition.

Gloria in excelſis Deo.

FINIS.

MOSES and AARON,
OR
THE AFFINITIE OF Civill and Eccleſiaſtick power.

A SERMON INTENDED *for the Parliament held at* Oxon, Auguſt. 7. 1625.

But by reaſon of the ſudden and unhappy diſſolution, then, not preacht, but ſince upon occaſion, was; at S^t. MARIES in *Oxford*, the 26. of *February*. 1625.

BY
Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*,
and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND.
1636.

TO MY MVCH DESERVING FRIEND AND BROTHER, FRANCIS GODOLPHIN, *Esquire*, *This.*

MY DEARE SIR,

WHilſt *others declaime* (*too juſtly*) *againſt the* dull charities *of the* times, *and the* coldneſſe *of* affection *in their* Allies *and* blood, *I cannot but magnifie* their *worth*, *in* you, *where I have met a* vertue, *ſcarce exampled by a ſecond*, friendſhip in a Brother. *I thought it a high injuſtice to ſmother ſuch a* miracle, *and therefore have here ſet it upon* record; *that*,

as the age may blush at her other prodigies, so glorie here, that shee hath (at length) brought forth one who hath not lost either his Nature to his alliance, or pietie to his Countrey. A goodnesse seldome paralell'd in these dayes of ours, these degenerate dayes of ours, when wee may finde a more naturall correspondence, a livelier heat of affection, amongst those of savage and barbarous condition, than in the bosome of our owne Tribe and Nation. But I may not tax, when I am to salute, 'tis out of the road of gratulation; this is intended so, A meere declaration of my thankfulnesse for all those your noble Offices of a reall brother-hood, which though I have not power (as yet) to satisfie, I shall have ever will to acknowledge, and in that loyaltie I persist,

Your most respectfully ingag'd,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

Moſes and Aaron,

OR

The affinity of Civill and Eccleſiaſticke power.

EXOD. 4.12.

Goe, and I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.

HOw ſtrangely God compaſſes what hee projects for his, by the hands of an obſcure Agent? *Iſrael* hath beene long enough under the groanes of *Ægypt*, it ſhall be now unyoakt from that heavy ſervitude; and this muſt bee done by no trodden meanes or ordinary inſtrument: But one that *Iſrael* and *Ægypt* too ſhall ſtand amaz'd at to ſee in ſuch a power of ſubſtitution, *a Shepherd*. *Moſes* a feeding

Cap.3.v.9,10.

Cap.3.8.

ding his fathers flocke not farre from *Horeb*, the mountaine of the Lord, when ſuddenly a voice doth at once aſtoniſh and invite him; *Moſes, Moſes.* 'Tſhould ſeeme the affaires were both of neceſſitie and diſpatch, when the perſon to bee imploied was thus preſt by a double ſummons: what ſhall he doe now? *His flocke* muſt bee *left with Jethro in Midian*, and hee ſhall to *Court*, there to ranſome an engag'd and captiv'd Nation, from the ſhackles of a Tyrant; A ſimple deſigne for one ſeaſon'd in the courſe conditions of an *Hebrew* and a *Midianite*: Men knowne more by the largeneſſe of their folds, than any eminence for matters of ſtate, moſt of them being herdſmen, or ſhepherds. But ſee how God will extract wonders out of improbabilities, and miracles out of both: *Moſes* ſhall firſt ſee one, and then do many. *Behold an Angell of the Lord in a flaming fire in a buſh, the buſh burned* (ſaith the Text) *and the buſh was not conſumed.* A viſion as ſtrange as the project hee is now ſet upon, and doth not ſo much take, as ſtagger him. That it burned and conſumed not, raviſhes his eyes only, how it ſhould burne and not conſume, his intellectuals; So that he is now doubly entranced, in the ſenſe, and in the thought. But there is more of myſterie involv'd here than the Prophet yet dreams of, or diſcovers. God in his affairs requires both heat and conſtancy: men of cold and languiſhing reſolution are not fit ſubjects for his imployments, but thoſe which can withſtand the ſhock of many a fiery triall; they whoſe zeale can burne cheerefully in the ſervices of their God, and not conſume. *Moſes* therfore ſhall now to *Pharaoh* with as many terrors as meſſages. Ten times he muſt bid the Tyrant let *Iſrael* goe: every Injunction ſhall finde a repulſe; every repulſe, a plague; and every plague, a wonder. Somewhat a harſh Embaſſie to a King, and cannot bee welcom'd but with a ſtorne, whoſe diſpoſition is as impatient of rebuke, as not inur'd to't. Thoſe eares which have beene ſleekt hitherto with the ſupple dialect of

Cap 3.1.
Cap. 3.4.
Cap. 4.18.
Cap. 3.17.
Cap. 3.2.
Cap. 3.3.
Cap. 5. verſ 6, 7, 8, 9.

of the Court, (that oile of Sycophants and Temporizers) will not bee rought now with the courſe phraſe of a reproofe, much leſſe of menacing. Ther's no dallying with the eie of a Cockatrice; I am ſure none, with the paw of a Lion; Ruine ſits on the brow of offended Soveraignty, each looke ſparkles indignation, and that indignation, death. *Moſes* is now ſtartled at the imployment, and beginnes both to expoſtulate and repine.—*Who am I that I ſhould goe unto Pharaoh? I am not eloquent, but of ſlow ſpeech and of a ſlow tongue—?* Good Lord! In a Prophet what a peece of modeſtie with diſtruſt? will God imploy any whom hee will not accommodate? Hee hath now thrice perſwaded *Moſes* to this great undertaking. The other as often manifeſts his unwillingneſſe by excuſe, as if hee would either diſpute Gods providence, or queſtion his ſupply. Wee finde therefore this diffidence checkt with a new inſinuation of rectifying all defects.—*Who hath made mans mouth, or who makes the dumbe, or the deafe, or the ſeeing, or the blinde, have not I the Lord?* Why ſhould any further ſcruple or doubt aſſaile thee? I that am the God of the *Hebrewes* will protect thee; let no waverings of *Iſrael*, or terrours of *Egypt* any way diſmay thee: particular infirmities in their owne perſon I will mould a new to perfection, or if thoſe vacillations and ſtutterings of the tongue yet diſhearten thee, *Loe Aaron the Levite is thy brother, I know that hee can ſpeake well, take him with thee, and this rod too*, wherewith thou ſhalt doe wonders, as dreadfull as unpattern'd. Deliver *Pharaoh* roundly my commands, if hee will not undeafe his eare upon the firſt Alarum, I will bore it with my thunder. Why ſtandeſt thou then any longer ſo divided? *Goe now, and I will bee in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay—.*

Cap 3.11.
Cap.4.10.
Cap.4.10.
Cap.14.14.

Moſes is diſpatcht now, hath his Commiſſion ſeal'd, each particle of his meſſage punctually delivered him,

Diviſion.

wherein (as in all ſecular and ſubordinate Embaſſies) wee finde *a Command, a Direction, and a Promiſe.* The *Command*, *Goe*; The *Promiſe*, *I will bee in thy mouth*; The *Direction*, *Teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.* So hee that is ſingled out to any ſervice of his God for the advantage of his Iſrael, muſt not give back or waver, *Goe*—. If a willing obedience ſecond this command, God promiſes to aſſiſt, *I will bee in thy mouth*; if there, be not daſh't at the ſlowneſſe or unprovidedneſſe of thy ſpeech, *I will teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.* Once more is there a retired worth, which deſires to ſit downe to obſcuritie, and ſeemes unwilling to the publike ſervices of his God, heareſt thou not this *proficiſcere* from Heaven? *Goe.* But haſt thou once undertooke them? bee not diſcourag'd, here's an —*aperiam*, too—. *I will be in thy mouth*; but am I welcom'd there with reverence and awe? ſpeake boldly then, for, *Ego inſtruam*, *I will teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay*—, *Goe then.* But let's firſt cleare the paſſage. 'Tis not my intent to ſhew you *Moſes* here in the ſtormes and troubles of the *Court* and *State*, but of the *Church.* I may not bee too buſie with the *Riddles* and *Labyrinths* of the two firſt; the times are both rough and touchy, I will onely ſhew you a farre off, how this *Proteus* and that *Camelion* vary both their *ſhape* and *colour.* *Moſes* was indeed forty yeers a *Courtier*, and the better *part* of his life a *States-man*, yet he was a *Prieſt* too (and ſo I follow him) if you dare take the authoritie of Saint *Auguſtine*, who though in his ſecond booke on *Exod.* 10. *queſt.* gives *Moſes* barely *Principatum*; and *Aaron*, *miniſterium*; yet in his Commentaries on the 98. *Pſal.* hee thus interrogates, *Si Moſes Sacerdos non erat, quid erat? numquid major Sacerdote?* and the ſweet Singer of *Iſrael*, puts *Samuel* among them that *call upon Gods name*, and *Moſes* and *Aaron* amongſt the *Prieſts*, *Pſal.* 99. 6.—I have now remov'd all rubs and obſtacles, the way is ſmooth and paſſable, what ſhould then hinder *Moſes* any longer, *Goe*,—.

Aug. lib. 2. in Exod. queſt. 10. Aug. in Pſal. 98.

Com-

Command and *obedience* are the *body* and *ſoule* of *humane ſocietie*, the *head* and *foot* of an *eſtabliſh't Empire*. *Command* ſits as *Soveraigne*, and hath three Scepters by which it rules, *Authoritie*, *Courage*, *Sufficiencie*. Pars 1.

Obedience, as 'twere the *ſubject*, and beares up it's allegiance with three pillars, *neceſſity*, *profit*, *willingneſſe*. Sometimes *Command* growes impetuous and rough, and then 'tis no more *Soveraigntie* but *Tyrannie*——. Againe, *Obedience*, upon diſtaſte, is apt to murmure, and growes mutinous, and ſo 'tis no more a *ſubject*, but a *Rebell*; where they kiſſe mutually, there is both ſtrength and ſafety; but where they ſcold and jarre, all growes to ruine, and combuſtion. And this holds not onely in matters Civill, but in thoſe more ſacred. *Command* from heaven preſuppoſes in us an obedience no leſſe of neceſſitie, than will, and in God, infallibilitie both of power, and incouragement. Faintneſſe of reſolution, or excuſe, in his high deſignments, are but the Teltales of a perfunctory zeale, however they pretend to baſhfulneſſe, or humilitie. *I cannot ſpeake Lord*, or, *I am unworthy*, were but courſe apologies of thoſe that uſed them, when God had either matter for their employment, or time; And the *Quis ego Domine?* of *Moſes*, here, findes ſo little of approbation, that it meets a checke; the Text will tell you in what heat and tumult, with an *Acceenſus furor Jehovæ*, the anger of the *Lord* was kindled againſt *Moſes*, and it ſhould ſeeme, in ſuch violence, that *Abu'enſis*, after much traverſe and diſpute, makes that regiversation of his little leſſe than a *mortall ſinne*, and ſome of the *Hebrewes* have ſtrangely puniſht it, *with the loſſe of Canaan*, perſwading us, the maine reaſon why he came not thither, was his backwardneſſe in obeying this——*proficiſcere*, *Gen.* But that's a *Thalmudicall* and wilde fancie, fitter for ſuch giddy inrolements, than the cares of a learned throng. And as *Moſes* may not but obey when God layes his command on him, ſo hee muſt not *goe* without it. *Matthew* muſt bee *called from*

Ier. 1.

Rom. 1.
Exod. 3.

Cap. 4. 4.

Tofh. in cap 4. Exod.

Perer. in Exod.

Matth. 9. 9. Galat. 1. 5. *from his receipt of custome*; and he is not honour'd with a true Apostleship, who wants his-*vocatus sicut Aaron.* That of God to the Pseudo-prophets, was a fearefull Ironie, Ierem. 14. —*I sent them not, but they ranne*—, voluntaries (it should seeme) finde here neither countenance, nor entertainment, but whom God hath prest and sealed to this great warfare; yet the other notwithstanding, in the field, and seasoned once to battaile, the retrait is more dangerous, than the adventure.

Wee finde *Esay* more active and forward than any of the *Prophets*, and yet that spontaneousnesse not chid; Esay cap. 6. who (as if hee would anticipate the care and choice of God in his owne affaires) makes a hastie tender of his service, with an— *Ecce ego, mitte me*; yet hee had his former convulsions, and pangs too of feare and diffidence; *Woe is mee, for I am a man of poluted lips.* But see how God hammers and workes what hee intends to file, either in person, or by substitute? an *Altar* must bee the *Forge*, and a *Seraphin* the *workeman*, who with his *tongs ready*, and *his coale burning*, shall both *touch* those iniquities, and *purge them*, and then, and not till then, *here am I, Lord send mee.* As therefore to stand still, when God sends out his *proficiscere*, argues a rustie and sullen lazinesse, so to runne when hee sends not, arrogancie and presumption. That zeale is best qualified, which hath the patience to expect Gods *summons*, and then the boldnesse to doe his errand.

5 8 5 7

The Schooleman in his 2ª. 2ª. 185. *question*, being to deale of religious persons, straines not the *Myter* from his discourse, but moderates the *quære* by dividing it, and thinkes to take away *all* scruple by making *two, whether it bee lawfull to desire Ecclesiasticall honour* (Episcopall hee Epitheres) *or to refuse it beeing enjoyned?* *Gregorie de Valentia* (his *Amanuensis* here) turnes the perspective from the *Object* upon the *Agent*; viewing as well the *partie desiring*, as the *thing desired*; where, though hee descrie

Aquin. 2ª. 2ª. qu. 185. art. 1.

Greg. de Valent. in loc. Aqui. dist. 10. q. 3. par. 2.

height

height of ſufficiencie in perſonall endowments: one *Cap.--A-Pe, in all points canonicall*, yet hee allowes not *a bait for his eager appetite to feed on*; a diſopinion'd under-valued man may *not deſire it for the dignitie*, nor hee that's fortune-trodden *for the revenue*. Bee the perſon otherwiſe ne're ſo compleatly accommodated, yet the *irregularitie in his appetite ſtrangles his other eminencies, and ſo hee is (at once) unworthy, and uncapable. Reaſon* and *conſcience*, will betroth *Honours* to *deſert*, which yet they *divorce* from the *immodeſtie* and *heat* of the deſire; for, if *ſuperintendencie bee in the appetite more than the office*, 'tis *preſumption*. *Aquinas* doth cenſur't ſo, a common practice of the Gentiles, reproov'd in the Diſciples; *Yee know their Princes love to domineere*, Mat. 20. *if the honour bee ſuperiour*, 'tis *ambition, and ſo meerely Phariſaicall*,—*They love the uppermoſt roomes at feaſts, and chiefe ſeats at Synagogues*, Matth. 23. If the *revenue*, it allies to *covetouſneſſe*, and differs from the ſinne of *Simon Magus* thus, he proffer'd money for the gifts, theſe covet the gifts for the money.

Quar. 1.

Aquinas ut ſup.

Mat. 23.

On the other ſide, to reject the *Ephod* wherewith authoritie would inveſt thee, checks doubly the refuſer, in wayes of *charity, humility*. *Charity ſeeks no more her owne, than her neighbours good*; now the charity wee owe unto our ſelves, prompts us to ſearch out—*Otium ſanctum* (as *Auguſtine* phraſes it) a holy vacancie from theſe publike cures, but that to the Church bindes us to undergoe—*Negotium juſtum*, the impoſition of any juſt employment, —*quam ſarcinam ſi nullus imponit, intuende vacandum eſt veritati, ſi autem imponitur, ſuſtinenda eſt propter charitatis neceſſitatem*; the Father in his 19. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 19. Againe, *humilitie* tye's us in obedience to Superiours, ſo that as often as we diſobey them we doe oppugne it, and this (in reſpect of God) is not *meekeneſſe*, but *pertinacie*,—*Tunc ante Dei oculos vera eſt humilitas, cum ad reſpuendum hoc quod utiliter ſubire praecipitur,*

Quar. 2.

Aquin. & Greg. ut ſup.

Aug. 19. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 19.

Mag. Gregor. 1. *pars Paſt. cap.* 6.

cipitur, pertinax non eſt——, *Gregorie* 1. part of his Paſtorals 6. Chapter.

To avoid then all occaſions of publike ſervice for the Church, under a pretence of humilitie or recluſeneſſe, ſpeakes (too broadly) the delinquent, *refractarie*. Your *Anchoret* that digges his grave in *ſpeculation* meerely, and your Moale that is earth'd wholly in an affected ſolitarineſſe, are not liable ſo properly to *obſcuritie*, as *death*; ſuch *elaborateneſſe* tends not to *perfection*, but *diſeaſe*; and we finde an *Apoplexy*, and *ſleepe*, no leſſe on their *endevours* than in their *name*; all knowledge is duſted with them, and tis no more a *Nurſerie* of vertues, but a *Tombe*. And (indeed) ſuch *Silk-wormes* ſpin themſelves into *Flies*, diſanimate, heartleſſe *Flies*, life neither for *Church* nor *Common-wealth*. The Laurell and honour of all ſecular deſignes, is the execution; and the happineſſe of thoſe ſacred ones, is not entail'd barely to the *knowledge* of them, but to the *fac & vives*. And that, not at *home* only in thy particular intendments, but *abroad* alſo in thy ſervices for the Church; ſo that he that retraits at any Alarum or Summons of his God, for the common affaires of the Church, to hugge and enjoy himſelfe in his ſolitarie ends, runnes himſelfe on the ſhelves of a rough cenſure, that of the Father to his *Dracontius*, —*Vereor ne dum propter te fugis, propter alios ſis in periculo apud Dominum.* To ſtand by, and give aime onely, whil'ſt others ſhoot, and thou thy ſelfe no mark-man, proclaims thy lazineſſe, if not thy impotencie. What a *nothing* is thy *arme?* thy *bow?* thy *ſhaft?* if not *practiſed*, not *bent*, not *drawne up?* or if ſo glorious a marke, the *Church?* why not *leveld* at? either ſhe muſt bee unworthy of thy travell, or thine of her. If therefore this thy Mother implore thy aid (ſo *Auguſtine* counſels his *Eudoxius*) on the one ſide, hand not with ambition; on the other, leane not to a lazy refuſall, *weigh not thine owne idleneſſe with the neceſſities and greatneſſe of her burthens, to which (whiles ſhee is in travell)*

Athan. in Epiſt. ad Drac. Epiſc. fugient. part. 2. editio ultima.

Aug. Epiſt. 81.

if

if no good men will adminiſter their helpe, Certè quomodo naſceremini non inveniretis; God muſt then invent new wayes for our new birth: the Father in his 81. Epiſtle *ad Eudoxium.*

You ſee then our *Moſes* may not haſtily thruſt himſelfe upon thoſe weightie deſignes without authoritie and commiſſion from his God, and yet once ſummon'd, not recoile; but thus having his *Congedeleere* and warrant from above, wee muſt now account him in the place of God, *God indeed*, with a —*ſicut*— the Text tels us ſo, thrice tels us ſo, *God to Aaron, God to Iſrael, God to Pharaoh*, 'Twere then too high a ſacrilege, to rob him of any title or prerogative, which ſhould wait on the greatneſſe of ſuch a perſon. Le'ts give him (what all ages have) *Eminencie of place, Office, their Attendants, Honour, Revenue.* I ſhall dwell my houre with the two firſt, with the latter only, *in Tranſitu*, and upon *the by*, they being involved in the two former. And that I may punctually go on, I will touch firſt (where I ſhould) with the *Eminency*—*Goe.*— Exod. 3. 4. 5.

Which as it was ſacred in the firſt enſtallment, ſo in the propagation moſt honourable to the times of *Heathens.* For *Tertullian* (ſpeaking of the magnificence and pompe which attended their ſuperſtitions) tels us, that *their doores, and Hoſts, and Altars, and dead, and* (what glorifies all) *their Prieſts were crown'd*: in his *Corona militis, cap.* 10. And the firſt *crowne* which the *Romanes* uſed, was the *ſpicea Corona*, given as a religious Enſigne, in honour of their *Prieſts*—*Honoſque is, non niſi vita finitur, & exules etiam, captoſque comitatur*—ſaies my *Hiſtorian*, nought but death could terminate this honour, which was their companion both in *exile* and *captivitie.* They wore the name of *Arvales Sacerdotes*, firſt inſtituted by *Romulus*, and *Acca Laurentia* his Nurſe, who of her twelve ſonnes having loſt one, hee himſelfe made up the number with that title. But here's not all, —*Terminorum ſacrorum, & finium, jurgiis terminandis præerant*, Eminen. 1. part. Tert. de Coron. militis cap. 10. Plin. lib. 8. Ca. 2. Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 26.

& interveniebant, they were the *peace-makers* of the time, and ſate as Arbitrators in matters of conteſtation betweene man and man, as the great Naturaliſt in the 18. booke of his Hiſtorie, 2. chapter. And who fitter for ſuch a morall office than the *Prieſt* ? an *honour* which theſe worſt of times allow him, though with ſome turbulencie, and indignation : *Moſes and Aaron, you take too much upon you*, was the crie of a *Jew* once, ſo 'tis now, who would manacle and confine them onely to an *Eccleſiaſticke power*, and deveſt them quite of any *civill authoritie*, though *Moſes* here had both. But 'twas not without ſome ſhew of *myſterie*, that in the *robes of Aaron* (I inſtance now in him, leſt perchance they ſhould cavill with his brother *Moſes*) *there was a crowne ſet upon the Miter*, moralizing a poſſible conjunction at leaſt of Miniſter and Magiſtrate in one perſon. And *Chytræus* hath a patheticall obſervation from the Apoſtles ὀρθοτομεῖν — *divide aright*, that the Metaphor was firſt taken from the manner of *cutting* or *dividing* the *members of the hoſt*, Levit. 7. where the *fat and kidneies were burnt as a ſacrifice to God, but the breſt and the ſhoulder were given to the Prieſts* : the Allegorie carries with it both weight and majeſtie, here's a *breſt* for *counſell*, and a *ſhoulder* for *ſupportation* in matters of *government*. And no doubt in times of old (even theſe of the Fathers) *the Sacerdotall power*, was at a great height, in equall ſcale with that of their honour, which was ſo eminent, that Saint *Ambroſe* rankes not the *Miter* with the *Diadem*, but in a *zealous Hyperbole* (pardon the Epithete) *preferres it*, and makes this comparatively to the other *as a ſparkle to a flame, or dull lead to burniſht Gold*, in his *de dignitate Sacerdotali cap.* 2.

Plin. ut ſup.

Numb. 16. 3.

Exod. 29. 6.

2 Tim. 2. *Chyt. de ordin. miniſt. pag.* 506.

Si Regum fulgori & principum Diademati inferius eſt quam ſi plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares, Ambr. ibid.

I may not follow the Father in his *prieſtly Panegyricke*, 'tis too high, and borders too much on the diſcipline of the *triple crowne*, ſuch a crowne as ne're yet girt the temples of *King* or *Prieſt*, but of him that tramples on the

necke

necke of both; let ſuch inſolence invade the right of *Potentates*, and ſpurne their *Crownes* and *Scepters* in the duſt, whilſt wee ſeat our *Aaron* at the becke of *Moſes*, but the people too at that of *Aaron*: Let the *Prieſthood* doe obeyſance, and kiſſe the feet of *Soveraigntie*; but let not the *Laitie* turne the heele, and kicke againſt the ſacredneſſe of *Prieſthood*. S. *Auguſtine* upon theſe words of God to *Moſes*, —*Tu eris illi in iis quæ ad Deum*,—*He ſhall be to thee in ſtead of a mouth, and thou ſhalt be to him in ſtead of God*, ſeemes entranc'd a while, and bringing them to the ballance, and weighing preciſely every ſcruple, cries out, *Magnum Sacramentum cujus figuram gerat*, as if *Moſes* were a *medium betweene God and Aaron*, *and Aaron betweene Moſes and the people*. The morall is plaine, *Soveraigntie ſtands betweene God and the Prieſthood*, *and the Prieſthood betweene Soveraigntie and the people*. However the Ceremonies due to either heretofore, in matters of Inſtaulement, ſtood not at ſuch *emnitie* as we can ſay *they differ'd*, they were both *anointed*, and both *crown'd*; and though the authoritie were unequall in reſpect of *place*, yet not of *employment*, *Yee are full of power by the ſpirit of the Lord*, Micah 3. 8. And *Eliſha* could once tell the King, *Hee ſhould know there was a Prophet in Iſrael*, 2 Kin. 5. 8. And in matters of preſervation God was as zealous for the ſafetie of theſe as them,—*Touch not mine anointed, and doe my Prophets no harme*, Pſal. 105.

Exod. 4. 16.

Aug. lib. 2. Exod. 10. quæſt.

But let not my *zeale* to the *Prieſt* diſprivilege my *allegiance* to my *King*. I ſpeake not this to ſet up *Moſes* in competition with *Pharaoh*, or rivall the dignitie of the *Prieſthood* with that of *Soveraigntie*; but to minde you in what luſtre it ſometimes ſhin'd, and how the times now conſpire to cloud that glorie.

The dayes have beene, when the *Laicke* was ambitious, not onely of the *title* of a *Prieſt*, but the *office*: for *Euſebius* examples in many of them, who thruſting upon Biſhops of Primitive times, *Statim coronandi munus obierunt*,

obierunt, in his *lib. 6. cap.* 15. And *Tertullian* (ſpeaking of the inſolencies and taunts which the *Laitie* then put upon the *Prieſthood*) tells us that they *juſtified* their malice and injuries to the *Prieſt*, by *uſurping the name*, or prophaning rather, —*Quum extollimur & inflamur adverſus clerum, tunc omnes Sacerdotes, quia Sacerdotes nos Deo, & Patri fecit, quum ad peræquationem diſciplinæ Sacerdotalis provocamur, deponimus inſulas, & pares ſumus*; in his booke *de Monogamia, cap.* 12.

Tert. lib. de Monog. cap. 12.

It ſhould ſeeme then the *office* and *name* paſt honourably thorow all ages, even thoſe of *Infidels*, though the *perſon* were ſometimes expoſed to the perſecutions of the time, and ſuffered under the blaſphemies of unchriſtian tongues; but now the very *title* growes barbarous, and he thinks he hath wittily diſcountenanced the greatneſſe of the calling, that can baffle the *Profeſſour* with the name of *Prieſt*. But theſe whilſt they intend to wound, they honour us, and we account them no ſcars, but *glories*. Let ſuch children mock on the Prophet, the event (I beleeve) will prove as horrid as that of old, will you tremble to heare it ſpoken? you may read it then, and looke pale too, in 2 *King.* 2. 24.

Office a.

May it pleaſe you now, turne your eyes from the *dignitie*, and reflect upon the *office*. The *office*, a taske indeed, ſuch a one as ſhould rather provoke our *endevours*, than *appetites*. *If any man deſire the office of a Biſhoop* (let's a while leave the word *Prieſt*, and faſten upon this, the authoritie may beare it out the better) *deſires a good worke*, 1. Tim. 3. 1. *Quia nomen operis eſt, non honoris* (as *Auguſtine* gloſſes it) 'tis a name of *worke*, not *honour*; a *worke* no leſſe fearefull, than laborious, no where better figur'd than by *Moſes*, here, to *Pharaoh*, repriving *Iſrael* from *Egypt*, from which 'tis ſcarce any way differenc'd, but in the difficultie, and therein it exceeds the *type*; difficultie worthy the travells of the beſt, were not thoſe labours ſhoulder'd

1 Tim. 3. 1. *Lib.* 19. *Civit. Dei cap.* 19.

ſhoulder'd and thruſt on by vaine-glorie. *Iſtæc cathedra ſcipientem ſe, & audaciter expetentem, non requirit, ſed ornatum, ſed eruditum*—. So *Valentia* upon *Aquin.*—This *chaire of Moſes* is no ſeat of ambition, but deſert, it hates either an intruder, or purſuer; Hee that gaines it by covetouſneſſe, or bold deſire, doth not poſſeſſe, but invade it, and 'tis not ſo much his by right of inheritance, as uſurpation. *Greg. de Valent. in 2a. 2æ. diſp. 10. q. 3. part. 2.*

Theſe honours fawne only upon humble worths, men clad and harneſſed with double eminency, of life, of learning, thoſe whoſe vertues have advanc'd them above the ordinary levell and pitch of popularity. Yet to theſe neither without this *proficiſcere*—to *Moſes*, *Goe*. *Clemens* in his firſt Epiſtle, will perſwade you: 'tis the concluſion of Saint *Peter*. *Auguſtine* goes further,—*Locus ſuperior ſine quo populus regi non poteſt, etſi adminiſtretur ut decet, tamen indecenter appetitur*—. Suppoſe the man worthy of this place of *Eminencie*, and comes home in matters of *adminiſtration*, yet hee is to blame in thoſe of *appetite*, for the *deſire* layes open his *unworthineſſe*, and the Schoolman will not flatter him, but concludes it plainly for a *mortall ſin*. And if we may gueſſe at the childe by the parent, it beſt countenanceth *levity*, or *arrogance*, never read to bee the proper ſeeds of any vertue. Notwithſtanding this *deſire* (ſometimes) comes not within the compaſſe of preſumption, if the *worke* bee the object of our appetite, and not the *honour*, or, if the *honour*, not the *revenue*, —*Appetere celſitudinem Epiſcopalem, non eſt ſemper præſumptio, ſed appetere Epiſcopatum, ratione celſitudinis, appetit enim celſitudinem, ſupra dignitatem*.—*Gregorie* will have it ſo. However, if it pleaſe you to glance on my former quotation from the Apoſtle, 'twill not ſo much whet your appetite, as gravell it; for firſt *Beza* limits the deſire, *If any man deſire?* and 'tis not meant—*de ambitu*—of the appetite, or ambition to get the See, but *de animo*, of the earneſt deſire to benefit the Church, or admit *Lib. 19. de Civit. Dei, cap. 19.* *Greg. de Valent. ut ſupra.* *Part. 1. Paſtor. cap. 8.* 1 Tim. 3. 1. *Beza in locum.*

mit the words will carrie that interpretation, yet the commendation which is annexed truces with the *worke*, not the *deſire*; —*Bonum opus deſiderat*—, not—*bene deſiderat*—, though it be good what he deſires, yet he doth not well to deſire it. Men unworthy of what they ſue for, onely becauſe they ſue for it. And this in Primitive times hath occaſioned in many, no leſſe a modeſtie than unwillingneſſe in thoſe ſacred undertakings, when the Fathers, with a kind of reluctancy and feare, were towed on to theſe high imployments. Nay ſome, whether through majeſtie of the place, or roughneſſe of the times, or guilt of their owne weakneſſe, have panted and breath'd ſhort in their deſires to this great enterpriſe, and at length exchang'd the honour for an exile. *Nazianzen* flies into *Pontus*; *Dracontius*, into the skirts of *Alexandria*: and it is tradition'd me by *Aquinas*, (and he quotes Saint *Jerome* for it) that Saint *Marke* cut off his thumbe, *Ut Sacerdotio reprobus haberetur*—They are the Schoole-mans owne words in his 2ª. 2æ. *queſt.* 185. *Artic.* 1. But 'twill not bee amiſſe here to take Saint *Ambroſe*—*quamvis non andum*—with us; that theſe things were done in the Churches great extremities, when hee that was —*primus in Presbyterio*, was, —*primus in Martyrio*. 'Twould require the temper of a brave *reſolution*, and a better *zeale*, to *deſire* this *Bonum opus*, when 'twas made the touchſtone and furnace of mens faith and conſtancie, not onely in leading others to the ſtake, but their owne ſuffering where they were to be a voluntarie *Holocauſt*, and ſacrifice to the Church, there to remaine a monument of their *Religion*, and others *tyranny*. 'Tis true, Hiſtories have furniſht us with examples of ſome which have renounc'd an Empire, and (which is ſtrange) a Popedome; *Diocleſian* did one, and *Celeſtinus*, t'other. The times (we may ſuppoſe) were bluſtring, and the revenues thin at *Rome*, when the honour of the chaire was at once not deſir'd and ſcorn'd. No project now unſifted, no ſtratagem undig'd for;

Greg. Naz. in præfat. Apol. Athan. in epiſt. ad Dracont. Epiſc. fug. ut Gloſſ. in prim. Evang. Marc.

Part. 2. paſt. c. 3.

for; no reach of policie unfathom'd for the compaſſing of that great *See*, though by ſiniſter, though by deviliſh attempt, nay, that's the chiefe engine by which it works. *Tiberius* could once tell a Prince of the *Celts*, that *Rome had a ſword for her conqueſt, not an Apothecaries ſhop*; now they are both too little; *Sword, and poyſon, and maſſacre, and piſtoll, and knife, and powder*, for the purchaſe (or at leaſt the ſtrengthening) of the *Triple Crowne*.

And I would *Machiavell* had rendevous'd onely in Jeſuited Territories, and not knockt at the gates of Proteſtant Dominions; 'tis to be fear'd he hath Factors necrer home, thoſe which not only know the backdoores to the Staffe and Miter, but are acquainted with the lock, which if they cannot force or picke, by the finger of policie or greatneſſe, they turne with that golden key, which at once opens a way to a purchas'd honour, and a ruine.

Ambition, whither wilt thou? nay, where wilt thou not? to the pinacle of the Temple for the glorie of the world, though thou tumble for it to thy eternall ruine.

The Greeke Philoſopher will beg of the Gods, that *he may behold the Sonne ſo neere, as to comprehend the forme, beautie, greatneſſe of it, and afterwards bee cares not if hee burne*, as if there were no ſuch Martyrdome, as what *Ambition* fires. *Occidat modò imperet*——, was the reſolution of *Agrippina* for her *Nero*; but loe, how the event crownes the unſatiatneſſe of her deſires? Hee gaines the kingdome, and firſt dig'd out thoſe bowels which had foſtered him, and then that heart which was the throne of ſuch an aſpiring thought; crueltie ſhall I call it, or juſtice, when the vaine-glory of the mother was penanc'd with the unnaturalneſſe of the ſonne. Thus loftie mindes (furniſht with a ſtrong hope of the ſucceſſe of their deſignes) have embarkt themſelves into great actions, and propoſing humane ends, as ſcales to their high thoughts, have been wafted into ſtrange promotions, but after they have (a while) ſpangl'd in that their firmament

of honour, they become falling ſtarres, and ſo the ſucceſſe proves as inglorious as the enterpriſe was bold and deſperate. Wee have ſeldome met with any eminencie that was ſudden and permanent: Thoſe which in their *dawne* of *Fortune breake* ſo gloriouſly, meet with a ſtorme at *noone*, or elſe a *cloud* at *night*. The Sunne that riſes in a *grey* and *fullen* morne, *ſets* cleereſt; and indeed *ambition* is too haſtie, and is hurried violently to the end it aimes at, without cautelouſneſſe and circumſpection to the meane; but humilitie hath a calme and temperate pace, and ſtoopes it along in a gentle poſture, yet at length attaines her marke, but ſlowly, as if it went unwilling to honour, and ſlighted thoſe profers which others ſue for. *I envy Scipio Africanus and Marcus Portius*, (you know whoſe 'tis, *Traj anus* to *Plutarch*) *more for contempt of offices, than the victories they have wonne, becauſe a Conqueror for the moſt part is in Fortunes power, but the contempt of offices liv'd in prudence.* Will you heare the paraphraſe? *Tacitus* gives it, *Sapientibus cupido gloriæ noviſſima, exuitur—*. Wiſe men are ſo little in the drift of honour, that they loath the ſent, 'tis the vanitie they laſt put off; and there was a time when a modeſt refuſall of them was no by-way to them; for this ſhadow once followed, flies; but fled, followes—*primatus fugientem deſiderat, deſideratum horret*, ſayes the Father. 'Tis a tricke of primacie to fawne where 'tis not croucht to, but looke coy where it's over-courted, like ſome weather-cocks, which in a conſtant and churliſh winde beake fairly towards us, but in a wanton blaſt turne taile.

Hence it is, that in matters of authoritie and preheminence, pride hath for the moſt part the foile, humilitie they conqueſt; that ſtoopes baſely to the title, or the profit, and loſes either; this in a modeſt diſtance keepes aloofe, till worth invite it, and at length gaines both: ſo that it is in wayes of promotion, as in ſome water-works, where one Engine raiſes it to make it fall more violently, another

another beats it downe that it might mount higher. The advice then of S. *Peter* comes ſeaſonably here, —*Humble your ſelves under the mightie hand of God, that hee may exalt you in due time.* The words are not without their ſtrength of emphaſis, here is an—*humiliamini*—crown'd with an—*ut exaltet*, humble your ſelves, that hee *may* exalt, as if *humilitie* were ſo neceſſary a diſpoſition to preferment, that without it God might not exalt. But ſoft, Impoſtor; Thou which juggleſt both with God and with the times, I call not that *humilitie* which is typ'd in the downefall of the looke, or the affected crindge and poſture of the body; but the knee of the inward man, which the Wiſeman of old called, *The character of an holy ſoule, leading noble hearts ſlowly to the feaſts of friends, but ſpeedily to their ſuccour in calamities*; So that true meekneſſe is retinu'd with a double worth, *Charitie*, *Reſolution*; And the Philoſopher will tell you, 'tis *a vertue belongs to the couragious part of the ſoule, ſeated betweene two baſe extremes, Puſillanimitie, Arrogance.* No *Buffone*, and yet no *Baffler*, ſupporting ſometimes injuries, not out of *cowardice*, but *patience*, allaying all tumults and inſtigations of the ſoule, to *revenge* or *choller*, not expos'd to any violence of paſſion, but as *temperate* in diſpoſition, as *ſettled*; no wave in her deſigne, nor tempeſt in her thought; ſhe is all calme, not a winde ſo rough as to move a ſtorme, either in her minde or action. But there is a *ſquint-eyed humilitie*, which caſts one way, and points another; the looke is dejected, ſtill groveling toward the earth, and with ſuch a dreſſe of mortification, as if it deſired no more of it, than would ſerve it for a grave; when the thought meaſures out a Dioceſſe, or labours on ſome greater project, which gain'd, the countenance is cheer'd, the bodie droopes not, and hee can now ſafely jeſt it with that old Abbot:

1 Pet. 5. 6.

Plato in Timæo.

Quærebam prius claves monaſterii,
Quibus inventis, nunc rectus incedo.

And this subtill Navigator never steeres as hee sets his compasse; the looke (haply) points you to a formall meeknesse, but the thought still coasts upon Ambition; yet this gluttonous *desire* seldome anchors any where, but goes on still with a full saile, till it hath compassed the cape 'tis bound for,—*Habet hæc ambitio omnia ambitio, non respicit*, The thirst of Eminencie is headstrong, and runs with a loose bridle. 'Tis too so much below satietie, that it still desires, nay, 'tis hungry even in surfet, and is sharpen'd with the fruition of that it coveted; so that the birth of this wish is but the conception of another, one honour roomes not the greatnesse of his thought, our *Aaron* is not contented with an *Ephod*, *the rod of Moses* would doe well too; Authoritie is sleighted, discipline fallen, and corruption crept strangely into the times, but ——*O fortunatam me consule, Romam.* What should a mercifull worth doe with a Consulship? 'tis a place for thunder, not clemencie, one that can strike dead exorbitancie with the furrowes of the brow, and quell all vice with the tempest of a looke, one that can both unsheath the sword of authoritie, and brandish it, if not to *reformation*, yet to *ruine*. Thus hee would make government the stale both of his pride and Tyrannie, his projects are loftily-cruell, so are his actions too, yet still in a hot fever of promotion, which (if they want a trumpet from others commendation) shall borrow one from his owne, and so at once applaud his designes, and justifie them. And indeed this titillation and itch of honour, if it once finde in the bosome of the receiver a faire admittance, doth smoothly insinuate and cheat upon the powers of *Reason*. But when 'tis thorowly seated and enthron'd there, 'tis no more a guest but a Tyrant, and leaves the Possessor, not a Master, but a Captive, and in this case, I know not whether Saint *Augustine* will pittie his *Aurelius*, or excuse him,—*Et si cuiquam facile sit gloriam non cupere dum negatur, difficile est eam non delectari cum offertur*——in his

Seneca.

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Aug. Epist. 64. ad Aurel.

64.

64. Epiſtle. However the Father ſeemes there to plead onely for the delight in glories offer'd, not in the unjuſt proſecution of thoſe denyed. But our *humble-arrogant* walkes not to his *temple of honour by that of vertue*, but invaſion; and of ſome of his *colleagues*, the Fathers complain'd of old, *Qui nequaquam divinitus vocati, ſed ſua cupiditate accenſi, culmen regiminis rapiunt potius, quàm aſſequuntur.* 'Tis S. *Gregories* line and a ſtrong one too, ſuch a one as the Prophet once laſht *Judah* with, *Hoſ.* 8. 4. *They have ſet up a King, but not by me, they would make a Ruler, I knew it not.* Would you have a more punctuall character, that of the Phariſees is moſt appoſite; They love greetings in the markets, and to bee called of men, *Rabbi, Rabbi, they binde heavy, &c. Matth.* 23. 7. *Devout cruelties, Religious arrogance* (the Father will make it out) *Ob pietatem miſeri, ob ſplendorem infœlices*, in his Apologie, *Orat.* 1. *pag.* 44.

Greg. part. 1. *paſt. cap.* 2.

Hoſ. 8. 4.

Matth. 23.

Greg. Nazian. in præfat. Apol. edit. lat.

But I have followed *Moſes* too long as a Magiſtrate, I muſt now a while as a Prieſt, and (what I exchang'd him for) a Biſhop. I ſhal not travell farre, e're I diſcry them both in a full careere, not farre from the road I left the Magiſtrate, *Ambition*, but in a more covert, and untrodden way; a way, however doubly obnoxious to the paſſenger, becauſe *unwarrantable*, becauſe *forbidden*; no authoritie for his progreſſe, no Letters patents from heaven, no *proficiſcere* from his God, *Goe*, yet he runnes, runs without command, nay, againſt it, trebly againſt it, againſt that, *non dominantes in clerum*—, feed, but not as Lords over Gods heritage, but enſamples, and againſt that *nolite magiſtri*, bee not maſters, knowing you ſhall receive the greater condemnation; nay againſt the direct prohibition of Chriſt to his Diſciple,—*Will there be any great among you*—, ἔστω ὑμῶν διάκονος, *let him bee your ſervant.* 'Tis high time then this bladder were a little prickt, and this impoſtume launc'd. The bodie of the Church deſires it, cries for't, ſhee is ſicke, ſicke even unto death, yet no

1 Pet. 5. 3.

James 3. 1.

Matth. 20. 27.

Phyſitian in *Iſrael* will adminiſter, will? durſt not; Wee are growne ſo emaſculate, and palſie-ſtrucken, in waies of reprehenſion, the times ſo cenſorious, and in a luſt of noveltie, that this mount of God which was wont to ſend out lightnings and thunder to the Iſraelites below, is now growne a terrour to the *Moſes* that ſhall climbe it. And whereas the Pulpit hath beene formerly our Tribunall, to judge and ſentence the lapſes and depravations of the people, they have made at length a bar for our owne arraignment, and their doom or mercy paſſes on us, as we ſhall pleaſe or not pleaſe, but the verdict runnes much to the fancy of the cenſurer, which is commonly as barbarous and wilde, as he that gives it. Diſcourſes (and I am ſorry I cannot call them Sermons) are ſo ſleeke and wooing for applauſe, the eares of the times ſo coy, and pickt for accurateneſſe, that to be plaine or home, entitles the ſpeaker to rudenes or Stoiciſme, each offer'd annotation is a barbariſme, and every reproofe a libell. The hewing downe of a glorious vice, or the whipping of a ſinne in ſcarlet, *Præmunires* him that doth it, and hee growes a tributarie and ſlave to the frownes and diſhonors of the time, —*Unde illa priorum—ſcribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet——Simplicitas?* 'T ſhould ſeeme Antiquitie had a privilege of venting any thing that proceeded from the ſimplicitie and truth of an honeſt breſt; But the thoughts of after-times were choakt with a—*non audeo dicere*—, ſinceritie was turn'd bankrupt, and truth an exile; plaine-dealing, pertinacie, and zeale madneſſe. But what, ſhall *Moſes* here be tongue-tyed, ſhall he ſtutter in the Meſſages of his God? *Quid refert dictis ignoſcat Mutius annon?* Puſillanimitie and dejectedneſſe of ſpirit in the imployment of thy Maker, is the baſeſt degree of cowardice; for my part, I have ſet up my reſolution with that of S. *Bernard*: *Quid me loqui pudeat, quod illis non pudet facere? ſi pudeat audire quod impudenter egerunt, non pudeat emendare quod libenter non audiant.*

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Iuven. ibid.

Ad Fulc. epiſt. 2.

Let

Let mee tell however this childe of vaine-glorie, that no touch of male-contentedneſſe, or ſpirit of invection puts mee on the juſtice of theſe complaints; But that which the devout Abbot calls, *patient anger, humble indignation*—even that charitie wherewith hee catechiz'd his ambitious pupill,——*Quæ tibi condolet, quamvis non dolenti, quæ tibi miſeretur, licet non miſerabili, & inde magis dolet, quod cum ſis dolendus, non doles, & inde magis miſeretur, quod cùm miſer ſis, miſerabilis non es, vult te tuum ſcire dolorem, ut jam non habeas unde dolere, vult te tuam ſcire miſeriam, ut incipias miſer nov eſſe*, in his 2. Epiſtle, *Ad Fulconem*—. Bern. ad Fulc. epiſt. 2.

I never yet envied the proſperitie of any, I have ſometimes wondred at their wayes of advancement, and now have trac't them, and finde a double ſtaire by which they aſcend, *zeale, policie*,—(pleaſe you to tranſlate the tearms you may, they will beare the chriſtning) *Faction, Simonie*—, one of the chiefe meanes to gaine preferment, is, to crie downe the way to it. And he that will have three livings, muſt firſt preach violently againſt two. Non-reſidency muſt be a capitall and indiſpenſible crime. Pluralities damn'd, till they be either offer'd, or poſſeſt; when the fiſh is caught, what makes the net here then? away with it; the queſtion is ſtated on t'other ſide. *A double Benefice is but one living*, and that ſwallowed with as little reluctation, as 'twas but now thundred againſt, with all the bitterneſſe that the power of virulence could ſuggeſt; all's well now, the conſcience is at peace, and (what is ſtrange) the tongue too. Ere long, Non-reſidency hangs not in the teeth, but that is eaſily put off, for the honour of *Nicodemus*,—*To bee a great Maſter in Iſrael*,——*Si violandum ſit jus, regnandi causâ violandum*,—what matter's it for juſtice, ſo we gaine an Empire? or for equitie, ſo we may inſult? The application needs no skrew, 'twill come home of its owne accord to the murmurings of the guil- Sueton.

ty

ty boſome ; In the meane time it much ſtaggers mee, to ſee the reconcilement of two vertuous friends with a baſe adverſarie ; a Saint in the countenance, an Angell in the tongue, with an Hypocrite at the heart.

Thus (beloved) upon eaſie inquirie wee may as well deſcrie an equivocation in the looke, as in the word, and hee that can art it hanſomely in wayes of diſſimulation, hath not ſo much two tongues, as two faces ; one lookes toward the world, where demureneſſe laies on her paint and colour, and this oftentimes deludes, ſhamefully deludes ; the other towards heaven, and that 's but courſely dawb'd in reſpect of it, for the eye of the Almightie cannot bee dazled, that will diſcrie her furrowes and deformities, and at length give her a reward anſwerable to the deſert, *her portion with the Hypocrite*, and there I leave it.

This fruitleſſe and pernicious branch prun'd, and lopt off, t'other buds, no leſſe dangerous than that, and yet more flouriſhing, it ſprouts now to ſuch a bredth, and height, that it hath almoſt overſhadowed the body of the Church, in ſo much, that the Fowles of the aire lodge in the branches thereof. No Vulture or Raven (emblemes of rapine and greedineſſe) though they devoure and havock it (ſo they have a trick of merchandizing) but neſts and perches there ; nay ſcarce an Owle or Buzzard (now the metaphors of dulneſſe and ſimplicity) but houts and revels there. Times more than calamitous, when the inheritance and patrimonie of the Church ſhall bee thus leas'd out to *avarice* and *follie*, when thoſe her honours, which ſhee entailes upon deſert, ſhall bee heaped upon a golden ignorant, who rudely treads on thoſe ſacred prerogatives, without any warranted *proficiſcere* from God, or man. Wee finde *Moſes* trembling here, though encourag'd both by the perſwaſion and command of the Almightie,

Almightie, —*Et infirmus quiſque ut honoris onus ſuſcipiat, anhelat, & qui ad caſum valde urgetur ex propriis, humerum libenter opprimendum ponderibus ſubmittit alienis*—. 'Tis *Gregories* complaint in the 1. part of his Paſtorall, chap. 7.

Greg par. 1. paſt. cap. 7.

Strange monument of weakneſſe! hee that reeles under his owne burthen, ſtoopes to bee oppreſt with the weight of others, and loe how hee tumbles to a *mortall ſinne*. (The Schoolemen doe ſtile it ſo) directly oppoſite to a paire of vertues, *Juſtice*, *Charitie*; *unjuſt*, that the revenues due to worth ſhould bee packt upon bulkleſſe and unable perſons, and *uncharitable* for him to undertake the guidance and paſturing of a flocke, who was never train'd up in the conditions of a Shepherd. Neither is he an enemie onely of a double vertue, but a companion of two ſuch ſinnes, which ſeeme to brave and dare the Almightie to revenge on the Prophaner, *Intruſion*, *Perjurie*; firſt, in ruſhing on the profeſſion not legitimately call'd, then in purchaſing her honours. Yet there are, which can ſay with the Diſciples—*Maſter, we have left all and followed thee*—our birth-right for the Church; left did I ſay? ſold it, exchanged the poſſeſſions of our Fathers (their vineyard) to purchaſe thine; and in ſtead of that penny which thou giveſt in lieu of a Crowne, and recompence to thy labourer, wee have given thouſands to bee poſſeſt of one, and ſo thou not hiring us, we have it. But heare S. *Bernard* ſchooling his *Eugenius*, and doe not ſo much bluſh as tremble, —*Quis mihi det, antequam moriar videre eccleſiam Dei ſicut in dielus antiquis quando Apoſtoli laxabant retia in capturam, non auri, ſed animarum! quàm cupio te illius hæreditare vocem cujus adeptus es ſedem? Pecunia tua tecum in perditionem*—*O vox tonitrui!* The Abbat goes on devoutly in the 238. Epiſtle *ad Eugenium*.

Greg. de Val in 2ª. 2æ. Aquin. diſt 10. q. 3. punc. 2.

Bern. epiſt. 238. ad Eugen.

If that Father be too calme and modeſt in his reproofe,

and cannot rouze blood in the cheeks of the delinquent, S. *Ambroſe* ſhall ſtartle it, or elſe ſcare you with the viſion of *Simon Magus*, or *Gehazi*, —*Qui non timentes illud Petri, aut Elizei, Sacerdotalem deſumant honorem, ſanctique Epiſcopatus gratiam pecuniis coëmerunt*; in his *De dignitate Sacerdotali, cap.* 5.

Amb de dign. Sacerd cap 5.

And indeed, in waies of ſufficiency and worth, 'tis the —*ſi nil attuleris*—damps the preferment; The age can inſtance in ſome, languiſhing and weake in their intellectuals, men without ſap or kernell, who (having their ſtore-houſe well fraught with that *white* and *red* earth) have ſtumbled on the glories of the time, as if fortune would make them happy in deſpight of vertue; when others of Chriſts followers (were truly his Diſciples) are ſent abroad with their—*ite & prædicate*—*barefooted, without bag or ſcrip*, but their Commiſſion large —*Omni Creaturæ*—the wide world is their place of reſidence, no particular roofe to ſhelter them, or place of retiredneſſe to lay their head in. Nay, ſome that have ſerv'd a triple Apprentiſhip to Arts and Sciences, and ſpent in theſe our *Athens* the ſtrength of their time and patrimonie, men thorowly ballac'd for thoſe high deſignes, well kern'd both in yeeres and judgement, lye mouldring for non-imploiment, and daſht for flowneſſe of promotion; when others of cheape and thin abilities, men without growth or bud of knowledge, have met with the honors of advancement, and trample on thoſe dejected booke-wormes, which diſſolve themſelves into induſtrie for the ſervice of their Church, yet meet neither with her pomp, nor her revenue; nay, ſome that have waſted their Lampe, and burnt their Taper to an inch of yeeres, having ſpent thoſe fortunes in the travels of Divinitie, which would largely haue accommodated them for more ſecular courſes, are enforced to retire themſelves to the ſolitarineſſe of ſome ten-pound Cure, and ſo ſpin out the

the remainder of their age in a discontented contemplation of their misfortunes; and (I pray God) not in murmuring against his Church. And this hath occasion'd a maine revolt and apostasie of some from the bosome of this our Mother, where not finding shelter under those wings which had bred them, flutter abroad in other Provinces, and at length train'd up to the *Romish* Lure; witnes those many *Proselytes* they have gain'd from us (not for matter of conscience, but of fortune) who now steeping their pens in Wormewood, and whetting their tongues keener than any Razor, have wounded and struck thorow the sides of their sometimes Mother, to her great prejudice and dishonour. Where the fault lies, hee that hath but slenderly traffique't with the occurrences of the time, may judge. Spirituall promotions are slow of foot, and come for the most part haltingly, or in a by-way. A calamitie which best ages have been obnoxious to (those of the Fathers) but by them cried downe with as great violence, as detestation. (S. *Ambrose* will tell with what justice, I cannot, it makes me tremble.)—*Videas in Ecclesia passim quos non merita, sed pecuniæ ad presbyteratus ordinem provexerunt, nugacem populum, & indoctum, quos si percunctari fideliter velis quis eos præfecerit Sacerdotes, respondent mox & dicunt, Episcopus, & æs dedi, quod si non dederim hodie non essem*—. The words are broad enough in their Mother-tongue, they need no renderer, but an applier, if there be any guilt here so past blushing, that can do it, let it thaw into horrour to read on the Father in his —*de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. ult.*

Ambros. de dign. Sacerd. cap. 5.

I have beene too tedious here, you will say too bold; but I have done nothing but what *Moses* should, followed the commandement of my God, hee bade mee goe, I have obeyed him, and he hath promised to assist mee, for *hee will bee in my mouth*, that's my second circumstance, —*Goe, and I will be in thy mouth, and will teach thee what thou shalt say.*

And here I ſhould ſay more, but time hath ſilenc'd mee; a ſecond opportunitie may perfect all, in the meane time I ſhall beg Gods bleſſing for you, and your charitie to theſe. *To God the Father, &c.*

Gloria in excelſis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIVMPH.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE FUNERALL OF SIR JOHN SYDENHAM, Knight, at *Brimpton*, the 15. of *December*. 1625.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

Studeat quisque sic delicta corrigere, ut post mortem non oporteat pœnam tolerare.

Augustin. lib. de verâ & falsâ pœnitentiâ.

LONDON,

Printed by JOHN HAVILAND.

1636.

TO MY MVCH RESPECTED KINSMAN, JOHN SYDENHAM, Esquire, This.

SIR:

THere *is as well an* obedience *in matters of* desire, *as* command, *and with me a* request *hath ever beene of larger authority than a* Mandate. *You were pleas'd (formerly) to importune me for a* transcript *of this* Sermon; *now, for the* impression *of it; I have* obeyed *you in either; but I feare 'twill lose some of the lustre in the* perusall, *which it found in the* delivery. *I am not so happy a master of my* Pen, *as of my* tongue; *nor you (perchance) of your* eare, *as of your* eye, that *some tinckling fancies may (at once)* take *and* delude:

delude: this, *is more subtile, and perspicacious, and will not bee gull'd with the barke and shell of things, but pierces the very kernell, and the marrow*; *'Tis sometimes with the* eare, *and* eye *of a Scholar, as with his* fancie, *and his* judgement; *the* one *hath many a cheat put upon it by weake impostures, which the* other *both* discovers, *and* rejects, *and sometimes* (*as it doth here*) pitties. *What you shall meet with of vigour, and soliditie, entertaine, cherish,* 'tis yours; *yours first in the birth, and occasion, now, in the protection, nourishment; what more languishing, and abortive, lay on the Author,* 'tis mine, *like me, I'le father it*; *However, 'twill implore your* charitie, *the charitie of your faire* interpretation, *not of your* benevolence; *which if you shall vouchsafe, you have* nobly rewarded *the endevours of*

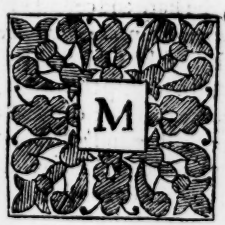
Your affectionate kinsman,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIUMPH.

ECCLES. 12. 5.

Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners walke about the ſtreets.



Ortalitie loves no deſcant; your plaine ſong ſutes beſt with blacks, that which is gravely ſet to compunction, ſorrow tun'd heavily, to ſighs and lamentations. What ſhould warbling aires with darted boſomes and unbalmed hearts? what your quaint and youthfull raptures, when —*Mourners walke about the ſtreets?* If *Zion* bee wept for, *harpes muſt bee*

hung

hung upon the willowes; ſad obiects require furrowes in the cheeke, and rivers in the eye, and wee then moſt honour the exequies of our friends, when wee embalme the deceaſed with our teares. Away then with eares wanton'd to looſer Sonnets; offend not with unchaſte attenſions theſe hallowed anthemes, here's broken harmonie; dirges as ſullen, as they are ſacred; panting and heart-broke elegies, rſuch as ſhould bee rather groan'd, than ſung. Aske the *Preacher* (here) and hee will tell you, Eccleſ. 12. 4. —*The daughters of Muſicke are brought low, and the yeeres draw nigh, when wee ſhall ſay, we have* Verſe 2. *no pleaſure in them.* Hee ſtories of a *Sunne, and Moone, and ſtarres which are obſcur'd, and of cloudes that returne not after raine*; as if the world were at her laſt pang and gaſpe, and ready for her funerall. Behold! the *little world* is —*The keepers of the houſe have trembled, the ſtrong* Verſe 3. *men bowed themſelves, the grinders ceaſed, and thoſe that looke out of the windowes, darkned; the Almond tree doth* 3. *flouriſh, and the Graſhopper is a burden, and deſire ſhall faile.* —*Becauſe*—*Man goeth to his long home, and mourners walke about the ſtreetes.*—

Without any racke or violence to the words, they offer themſelves to this diviſion. 1. the ſubject, Man. 2 his condition, tranſitory condition, expreſt by way of pilgrimage—, —Goeth—. 3 the *non ultra*, or *terminus ad quem*, of this his pilgrimage—. To his home-inlarged with an epithete—*Long home*—. 4 the ſtate and ceremony it there meets with, —*And the mourners walke about the ſtreets*—. Of theſe in their order; firſt of the ſubject, Man. *Pars 1.*

To dwell with circumſtances, and overſhip the maine, was ever an embleme of negligence, if not of weakneſſe; each Fabuliſt will tell you of a dog and a ſhadow, and what they morall. He that jangles (meerly) about nominals, where matters of realtie and ſubſtance fleet by, may ſpeake himſelfe a Grammarian or a Sophiſter, ſcarce a Divine. Of the *name* of Man, its ſource and pedegree,

I liſt

I list not to discourse; not an ignorance so untaught, or understanding dull'd, but would forestall me, or should I (by chance) meet with some intellectualls, so thin and tender, that could not (as it is a chance I should) scarce an object but would be both your spokesman, and remembrancer; yonder sad spectacle, that earth, this stone would tell you--*Homo ab humo*, from the ground, *Adam ab Adamah*, from the earth, red-earth, not that more solid part of it, but the brittlest, dust, so the curse runs,--*Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt returne*-. In the *word* Man, in the various acceptation of the *word* Man, (wherein some syntagmaticall Divines have unprofitably toil'd) Ile not curiously or impertinently travell, but without any figurative or metaphoricall sense, take it properly and literally, as the Text gives it me,-*Man*-, that is, a reasonable living creature, or rather a reasonable living soule, for so the Spirit of God Christens it,-*The man was made a living soule, Gen.* 2. 7. and the same *periphrasis* the Apostle uses too, 1 *Cor.* 15. The first man *Adam* was made --εἰς ψυχὴν ζωσαν, *in animam viventem*, or *anima vivens*—*a living soule*, *vers.* the 45 yet in the 44. of the same Chapter, hee calls him, σωμα ψυχικον—*a living bodie*. Either coat hee is justly blazoned by, so wee give the difference rationall, a difference so speciall and proper, that it divides him from any other; for reason is an intellective power, peculiar to man onely, and not communicable to a second creature; by which λογίζεται, or (as the Schooleman tearms it) *discurrit*; out of one thing he deduces another, and orders this, by that, both in method and discretion. Hence it is called λόγος, and the worke or office of it, λογισμὸς, *discursus*—*propter animæ celeritatem*—, for the volubilitie and nimblenesse of the soule, by which it traverses and moves from one object to another, from effects to causes, and backe againe, from all things to every thing, and from that (almost) to nothing. And as man was prerogativ'd above others, in respect of perspicacitie, so of Empire,

Amb. Pol. c. 35. Syntag.

Idem, ut supra.

Fer. in Genes.

Genes. 1. 27.

Contra Philo.

Purch. Pilgrim.

Gregor. Nazian.

Beasts.
Angels.
Men.

and dominion, for whereas in other passages of creation, we finde a kind of commanding dialect, —with a-*fiat lux*, and a—*producat terra*——. *Let there bee light, let the earth bring forth*; In that of *Adam*, words more particular, of deliberation and advice. —*Let us make man*—, Man, a creature of those exquisite dimensions, for matter of bodie; of those supernaturall endowments, of soule, that now *omnipotencie* bethinkes it selfe, and will consult. The privy Counsell of *Sonne*, and *Holy Ghost*, is required to the moulding and polishing of this glorious peece. *Angels* may *looke on*, and *wonder*; *touch*, or *assist*, they may not; no, not so much as to *temper* or *prepare the metall*. Here is worke onely for *a Trinitie*. A taske for *Jehovah* himselfe, for *Jehovah Elohim*, the *Father*, *by the Son*, *in the power of the Spirit*. No doubt, somewhat of wonder was a projecting, when a compleat *Deitie* was thus studying its perfection, somewhat that should border upon everlastingnesse, when the finger of God was so choicely industrious, and loe what is produced? *Man*, the masterpeece of his designe and workmanship, the great miracle and monument of nature, not onely for externall transcendencies, but the glorie and pompe of inward faculties stampt, and engraven to the image of his God, through the righteousnesse of an immortall soule; besides, a body so symmetriously composed as if nature had lost it selfe in the harmony of such a feature. *Man*, the abstract, and modell, and briefe story of the universe, —the *utriusque naturæ vinculum*—, the cabinet and store-house of three living natures, sensuall, intellectuall, rationall, the Analysis and resolution of the greater world into the lesse, the Epitome and *compendium* of that huge tome, that great *Manuscript* and work of nature, wherein are written the characters of Gods omnipotencie and power, framing it, disposing it, all in it, to the use and benefit of *man*, of *man* especially, of *man*, wholly; other creatures paying him an awfull obedience, as a tribute, and homage due to their

their commander in all things, ſo neere kinne to Deitie, that *Melanthon* makes him a *terreſtriall tranſitory God:* having little to divide him from a--*Numen*--, but that one part of him was *mortall*, and that not *created* ſo, but *occaſion'd*, miſerably occaſion'd, by *diſobedience*.

A little *forbidden fruit* (from the hand of a fraile creature) ſhall diſinherit it of an eternall privilege, and man is now thruſt out of the doores of his everlaſting habitation for two prettie toies, *an Apple, and a woman*; however *death hung not on the fruit*, (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) *but the contempt*, which was not ſo *voluntary*, as *ſuggeſted*; fond man, that is thus cheated of an aſſurance of immortality, by a falſe perſwaſion that he ſhall be immortall, that—*eritis ſicut Dii*—hath dampt all; the Serpent perſwades him, —if he doe but *taſte*, hee ſhall bee as *God*, when hee hath taſted, findes himſelfe worſe than *man*; a *worme* indeed, no *man*. Thus hee is at once fool'd out of everlaſtingneſſe and the favour of his Maker: the anger of the Lord is now ſore kindled, and his furie ſmoakes in a double curſe againſt him, and what he was framed of, *earth*; that which hath (hitherto) voluntarily preſented her fruitfulneſſe, in hearbs, and plants, and all things requiſite for his ſuſtenance; now, *undreſt*, and not watered in the bubble and ſweat of an induſtrious brow, affords him nothing but *thornes* and *thiſtles*; juſt reward of diſobedience, *barrenneſſe*, and *death*. Lamentable felicitie, which (at height) is but *conditionary*, and then *fatall*. There is no miſerie ſo exquiſite, as the ſenſe of a loſt happineſſe. Calamitie is ſupportable enough, where there is not felt, or ſeene, a more honourable condition; but, to be tumbled from a bliſſe we were ſometimes maſter of, is a punctuall wretchedneſſe. *Man*, but now on the pinacle and ſpire of all his glorie, in a moment ſhamefully throwne from it, and with him, all poſteritie. But, loe, there is mercy even in juſtice, and life in the very ſentence and jaw of death. —*The ſeed of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents*

head—. Shee that was (ere-while) a chiefe instrument in his fall, shall be now a maine agent in his restauration, not to that state wherein he was created, but to that wherein he shall be glorified. The soule (through faith and grace) shall still be preserved immortall, but the body must leſsen of its primitive condition, the soule as a Sunne that is eclips'd, or clouded, shall shine againe, the body, like some meteor, for a time exhal'd, falleth to the earth from whence it came; and as some metals (laid for a space in the bosome of the ground) grow more refined, and purified, so shall the bodie, *interr'd a naturall one, rise a glorious*. In the *Intervallum*, as a punishment for transgression, it shall resolve into what it was made of, and it must *goe to its long home*, the grave; where wee have now brought it, and would have laid it in, but that the captious *heretick* violently withstands it, and thus he interposes. *If man returne into earth, as he is earth, then he was mortall before hee sinned, and so death seemes to be of nature, and not punishment.* —It is not answered by deniall, but distinction, and wee must (here) criticke betweene *mortale, mortuum*, and *morti obnoxium*, *mortall, dead*, and *liable to death*. Wee call that *dead* which is actually deprived of *life*; *subject to death*, what is within the fathome and command of *deaths power* and tyrannie for *sinne*, though not *actually*, yet in *time*. *Mortall* two wayes, either for that which by a *necessitie* of nature *ought* to die, or for that which as the *merit* and *reward* of *sinne*, *can* die. The body of *Adam* (before sinne) was of it selfe *mortale* (as mortall is taken in the last sense) because *mutabile*, and that is *mutable*, which of it selfe *can* suffer *change*, although it never *doe*, as the *good Angells*, and *God* onely is *immutable*—*Per se, & natura* (as *Augustine* speakes in his booke *de vera Relig. cap.* 13.) But the bodie of *Adam* was not *morituru*, *to dye*, if hee had not sinned, but by a *glorious change*, without death, had beene translated by God into an everlasting incorruptibilitie. It was *sin* then that

that made man obnoxious to the ſtrokes of death, not any *condition*, or *neceſſitie* of *nature*, and therefore I know not whether I may call it an *errour* of the *Pelagian*, or a *blaſphemy*, who would have *Adam* (had hee not tranſgreſſed) dye by the *law of nature*. Hence he might infer, that death was not a *puniſhment for ſinne*, and ſo by conſequence, *Chriſt not died for it*; but we find this (by a Councell) long ſince doomed for an *hereſie*, and an heavy *Anathema* laid on the Patron of that tenent in *Concilio Milevitano*, *cap.* 1. and more particularly by *Auguſtine* in his firſt booke *de Peccatorum meritis & remiſſione*, *cap.* 2. You ſee then that *death* and all *corporall defects*, were ſcourges following the diſobedience of the firſt man, not occaſioned by any impulſion or languiſhment of *nature*, and *Aquinas* will reaſon it thus, —*If a man for an offence be deprived of ſome benefit that is given him, the wanting of this benefit, is the puniſhment of that offence. To* Adam *in his ſtate of innocencie there was this boone conferr'd from Heaven, that as long as his minde was ſubject unto God, the inferiour powers of the ſoule ſhould bee obedient unto reaſon, and the bodie unto the ſoule. But becauſe the minde of man (by ſinne) did recoile and ſtart backe from this divine ſubjection, it followed, that thoſe inferiour powers alſo would not bee totally ſubject unto reaſon; whence grew ſo great a rebellion of the carnall appetite, that the bodie (too) would not bee totally ſubject to the ſoule. Upon this breach death enters, and all that pale band of diſeaſes, and corporall infirmities, for the incolumitie and life of the bodie conſiſts in this, that it bee ſubject unto the ſoule,* ——*Sicut perfectibile ſuæ perfectioni*, ——as the Schooleman ſpeakes, *as a thing perfectable to its perfection. On the other ſide, death, and ſickneſſe, and languiſhments of bodie, have reference to the defects of the true ſubjection of the bodie to the ſoule. And therefore neceſſitie of conſequence will induce, that as the rebellion of the carnall appetite to the ſpirit, was a puniſhment of our firſt fathers ſin; ſo mortalitie, and all corporall*

imperfections

imperfections too, as the Schooleman punctually in his 2ª. 2æ. 164. *quæst.* 1. *Artic.* The curse then due to the lapse of our first Parents, hovers not over the *soule* onely, but, for it, the *body*; the *body* (before) in a blessed way of incorruptibilitie, but not *of* it selfe, but *from the soule*, so *Augustine* tels his *Dioscorus*, ——*Tam potenti naturâ Deus fecit animam, ut ex ejus beatitudine, redundet in corpus, plenitudo sanitatis, & incorruptionis vigor*—in his 56. Epistle. His bodie then was not indissoluble by any vigour of immortalitie existing in it selfe, but there was (supernaturally) a power in the soule, divinely given, by which man might preserve his bodie from all corruption, as long as it remained subject unto God. And the Schooleman hath good ground for it; for, seeing *the reasonable soule doth exceed the dimensions and proportion of corporall matter, it was convenient, that in the beginning, there should bee a vertue given it, by which the body might bee rescued from all infirmities, and conserved above the nature of that corporall matter*, as the same *Aquinas part.* 1. *quæst.* 97. *Art.* 1. The whole man then (mixt of bodie and soule) was in the creation in a glorious state of immortalitie, but it was with a—*Quodammodò*——(as *Augustine* tels us, *de Genes. ad Lit. lib.* 6. *cap.* 25.) not absolutely, —*Ita ut non posset mori*,—but conditionally—*poterat non mori*—, It is true, hee had a power not to dye, if hee had not sinned; but it was a necessitie he should dye, when he had; otherwise God had beene as unjust to his promise, as hee was severe in his command, for so the charge runnes,—*At that day thou eatest thereof thou shalt dye the death*—. He hath eaten, therefore hee must dye—. But from whence commeth this death? forom *God*, or from *himselfe*? or *both*? originally from *neither*; not from *God*, he cannot be the cause of it, death being a *privation* onely, having *name* (saith *Augustine*) but no *essence*; besides, it is an *Omen* and an *ill* to nature. Whatsoever God made, had an *essence*, was a *species*, *good*; the

Genes. 2.

Text

Text tels us so, six times tels us so, in one Chapter, *Genes.* 1. *God made the firmament, and it was good, Hee made the earth, and it was good; in a word, hee saw all that hee had made,* —*Et erant valdè bona,* —*they were very good*—. We may not thinke then that God therefore created man, that hee should dye; or, because death followed his disobedience, God was the cause of it. Death may bee an instrument of his justice, not an effect of his producing. It is one thing to give the sentence of death, another to bee the author of it. Indeed *Augustine* sayes (*lib.* 1. *Retract. cap.* 21.) that *death* (as *a punishment*) *hath reference to God*, not, as *an obliquitie*; and the Schooleman is at hand too, with a distinction for a two-fold death, one, *as an ill of humane nature, or a defect incident from mans transgression, that, hee dares not lay on the Almightie*, the other, *as it hath some species or resemblance of good, to wit, as it is a just penance for his rebellion*, this hee doth in his 2ª. 2æ. 164. *quæst. Art.* 1.

Genes. 1, *&c.*

Aquinas.

As therefore in the creation of the world God is said to *make light*, and to *separate it from darknesse*, not to make darknesse, as if that were of it selfe some blinde masse and Chaos, and therefore God chid light out of it; so in the creation of man God is said to *make life* (*God breathed into him the breath of life*) not death, nay hee doth separate that light from this darknesse, and doth chide life not out of it, but from it, with a—*Cave ne manducas*—take heed thou eat not, for if thou dost, —*morte morieris*—thou shalt dye the death. That therefore of the wise man will vindicate the Almightie from this misprision, —*God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the corruption of the living, for he created all things, that they might have their being, and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there was no poison of destruction in them.*

Genes. 1.

Wisdome 1. 13, 14.

The wombe then of this great plague of man the Apostle rips up, —*When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sinne, and sinne when it is perfected, bringeth forth*

death, Jam. 1. 15. The birth then of ſinne is through a conception of luſt, and the ſtrength of death through a perfection of ſinne. Loe then the cauſe of this great calamitie diſcovered! but how came that? originally from the man? no. How then? ----*Through the envie of the devill came death into the world*, the 2. Chapter of the ſame booke, verſ. 24. And therefore Saint *Auguſtine* calls it, ---*mors*---*à morſu*----from the biting of the Serpent. And our Saviour tels us, ---*Ille homicida ab initio*, *John* 8. --*He was a murderer from the beginning*; whence perceiving man (by his then obedience) advanc'd to that place from which he was headlong'd, now diſſolves, and breakes into ſecret envie; this enuie wrought deceit, deceit concupiſcence, that, diſobedience, diſobedience, ſin, ſinne, death. So that the envie of the deuill is the ſource and ſpring-head, deceit, the Conduit, concupiſcence, the pipe, the waters conveied in it, diſobedience, ſinne, the Channell or Ciſterne into which they fall, death. Tell *Adam* then of the forbidden fruit, hee laies it on his wife, —*The woman gave it mee.* Aske the woman, ſhee puts it on a third, —*The Serpent ſeduced me.*—Aske the Serpent, there it ſtayes, and in ſtead of an anſwer, we finde a curſe, ——*Becauſe thou haſt done this, upon thy belly thou ſhalt creepe, and duſt thou ſhalt eat all the dayes of thy life.* The man then all this while growes not obnoxious in reſpect of *ſeduction*, but *aſſent*, the woman of both; ſo the Apoſtle---*Adam was not deceiv'd*, —*ſed mulier in prævaricatione ſuâ*—*the woman being deceiv'd was in the tranſgreſſion*, 1. *Tim.* 2. 14. If God then aske *Adam*, —*num comediſti? Haſt thou eaten of that tree of which I commanded thee thou ſhouldeſt not eat?* Hee anſwers not with a —*Mulier ſeduxit*, —*the woman hath ſeduced mee*, but onely with a —*dedit*—*ſhee gave mee, and I did eat.* If hee aske *Evah*, —*Quid feciſti? Woman, what is this that thou haſt done?* ſhee as empty of any other evaſion, as of ſtrength, laies all on the ſhoulders of the ſeducer, —with a —*Serpens ſeduxit*

Aug. in locum.

Geneſ. 3.

duxit me,---the Serpent ſeduced mee. God inquires no farther, but ſentences, *---I will put enmitie betwixt her ſeed and thy ſeed, it ſhall breake thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heele,* as it is nimbly obſerved on the 2. booke of the Sentences, *diſtinct.* 22.

Vt ſupra.

Egidius de Roma.

Thus, with ſome blood, and travell, I have ſhewed you *man,* in his originall, height, fall; how created, in what glory thron'd, how ſunke, what the ſin, the occaſioner, the puniſhment; whence he was, what he is, whither he muſt; earth, from earth, to it; thither hee ſhall without reprivall: the ſentence is paſt, the executioner ready, and hee muſt goe, for---*Man goeth,* that's my ſecond part, his tranſitory condition expreſſed by way of pilgrimage. *Goeth.*

PARS II.

Man goeth -

RAre expreſſion of his frailtie here, if it may not bee more properly ſaid---*hee is gone,* than that *hee goeth. Our dayes* (ſaith the Kingly Prophet) *are gone even as a tale that's told, Pſal.* 90. *A tale,* of no more length than certaintie. Againe, they are *dayes,* not *yeeres,* as if our being (here) depended upon moments, more than time, or if time, that which is preſent, not in future; *Daies* are enough, and *yeeres,* too much, or had we both, loe, they are *gone, gone* even as a *tale that's told,* a *tale,* as momentary, as vaine. *Seneca* tells his *Polybius* onely of three parts of life anſwerable to thoſe of time, paſt, preſent, to come, *What we doe, God knowes is ſhort; what we ſhall doe, doubtfull; what wee have done, out of doubt:* ſo that our beſt peece of age is either tranſitory, or dubious; and where a wiſe man diſcovers either, he will at leaſt ſuſpect change, if not ſleight it. Pitch man at higheſt, ranke him

with *Kings, Prophets, Priests*; and wee ſhall there finde him on his hill of ice, whence hee doth not ſlip ſo properly, as tumble: one ſayes hee is *a ſhadow*, another *a ſmoake*, a third *a vapour*, brave reſemblances of his ſtation (here) and durabilitie, when the beſt commendation wee can beſtow on either, is—*they paſſe, or elſe they fade*,—As if it were a ſinne to ſay, *they Are, but they Have beene.* The *Grecian* then ſcarce ſhot home to the frailtie of man, when hee cals him ἐφήμερον ---*a creature of a day*,---hee did that nam'd him—*Heſternum*---*yeſterday*---*Wee are but as yeſterday, and know nothing, Job* 8. 9. Alaſſe poore man, no better than a watriſh Sun between wo ſwolne clouds, or a breathleſſe intermiſſion betweene two fevers, *miſerie* and *fate*. Loe how they kiſſe? *Man that is borne of a woman, hath but a ſhort time to live, and is full of miſery*: accurate calamitie; in method, *borne, a ſhort time to live, full of miſerie*; and to make frailtie compleat, the thing *woman* is inſerted too.--*Man that is borne of a woman, &c. David* was too prodigall in his ſimilitude, when hee beat out the age of man to the dimenſions of *a ſpan*; an inch, a *punctum*, had beene bountifull enough, the leaſt Atome types out his glory here, his glorie of life, 'tis breath on ſteele, no ſooner on than off; Sun-burnt ſtubble, at once flame and aſhes. Wee are at a good key of happineſſe, when wee can ſay---*wee are tranſitory*---wee have ſcarce ſometimes) ſo much life as to know we dye, even in the very threſhold and porch of life, death ſtrangles us; as if there were but one doore of the ſepulchre and the wombe; ſo that man is but a *living ghoſt, breathing duſt, death cloath'd in fleſh and blood.*

Hee goeth, vaniſheth rather, vaniſheth like lightning, which is ſo ſudden, and ſo momentarie, that wee more properly ſay wee remember it, than that we ſee it. How is't then, that life is ſometimes ſpun to the *crimſon*, and ſometimes the *ſilver thread*, from the *Downe* and *tender wooll* in child-hood, to the *Scarlet* in the manly cheeke, and

and the *tinſell* and *ſnow* in old age? Indeed, the white head, and the wrinkled countenance, may read you the Annals of threeſcore and ten, perchance calculate our life to a day longer; what is beyond is trouble, and ſo was that, and yet hath not this man liv'd long? *diu fuit, non diu vixit*— *Seneca* replies, *How canſt thou ſay hee hath ſailed much, whom a cruell tempeſt takes immediatly, as ſoone as hee is off the Havens mouth? and after many a churliſh aſſault, of winde, and billow, much traverſing his way, wav'd and ſurg'd to many a danger, hee is at length driven backe the ſame road, but now he went out by? this man hath not ſailed much, but hath beene much beaten.* And indeed wee have here but our—*tempeſtuoſa intervalla*—, 'tis not *life* truly, but *calamitie*. *A well gloſs'd miſery, gaudy unhappineſſe, glorious vanitie, a troubled Sea, tormented with continuall ebbes, and flowes; ſometimes we are ſhipwracked, alwayes toſs't, and thus expos'd to daily bluſtrings, we find no Haven but in death.* Hereupon the Grecian called the firſt day of mans life, γένεσιν τῶν ἀθλων, *---a beginning of conflicts---*; So that wee ſhall meet with more troupes of ſorrow, (here) then we have meanes either to reſiſt, or to appeaſe them.

De brevit. vitæ cap. 3.

Idem ibidem.

Conſidereſt thou not (ſayes that grave Philoſopher) *what a kinde of life it is nature preſents us with, when ſhee would teares ſhould bee the firſt preſages of our condition in this world?* How pretily *Auguſtine* emblemes it in his tender infant, *---Nondum loquitur, & tamen prophetat,* cryes are the firſt Rhetoricke he uſes, by which ere he can ſpeak, hee propheſies; and by a dumbe kinde of divination, wailes out the ſtorie of mans ſorrowes here. And now his odors, ſavours, laſſitudes, watchings, humours, meats, drinks, repoſe, all things, without which he could not live, are but the occaſion of his death. And therefore that famous Romane, receiving ſudden tidings of the death of his only Son, anſwered without diſtraction nobly, —*I knew when I begat him he ſhould die*—, life being nothing elſe but a *journey unto death*, a *going to the*

Senec. ad Lucil. Epiſt. 70.

long home. It is a little part of it we live, the whole course of our age, being not *life*, but *time* rather; which we cannot recall being spent, or cause it for present, not to spend, but it treads by us, without noise, and so swiftly, that it is here when we expect it comming, and gone by us, when we thinke 'tis at us. *Man goeth*—, Goes as some curious watch does, wound up (perchance) for an houre, at most, for a day, and then 'tis downe; which time, if it minute right, it is a rare peece; sometimes by distemper, it runs too fast, sometimes set backe, by the providence of the keeper, sometimes, againe, it beats slow, like a dying pulse, by and by, it stands still, as if the whole machine languished; anon some wheele 's amisse, or a spring broken, and then we say it is not downe, but disordered, so disordered, that 'tis beyond our Art of rectifying, it must be left to the skill of the Maker; who, to joynt it the better sunders it, and to make it more firme, for a while destroyes it. The great Enginer and framer of the world, will have it so done to our fleshly tabernacles, who by the *workmanship* of death, shall take the whole fabricke of the body into peeces, and for a time, lay it by in the grave, till against the great and appointed day, hee shall new wheele and joynt it, and set it more gloriously a *going*, by the vertue of the resurrection. So that man not onely *goeth*, (as I told you) but *is gone*, twice *gone*, dis-sould, by the frailtie of the bodie, to the captivitie of a grave, rebodied with the soule, to the honour of a resurrection. You see then, man is still in a place of fluctuation, not residence, and he is said to *sojourne* in it, not to *inhabit*. *Wee saile by our life, my Lucilius*, (sayes that Divine Heathen, let no squemish eare cavill at the title, for it belongs to *Seneca*.) *And as in the Seas the Shores and Cities flie; so in this swift course of time, wee first lose the sight of our childhood, and then of our youth, and at length discover the straits of old age, at which whether we shall arrive, or no, it is doubtfull*; and *when we have, dangerous.* That late famous (but unfortunate)

Seneca Epist. 70. ad Lucilium.

unfortunate) Hiſtorian, who had run thorow all ages of man, and almoſt all conditions in them, ſpeaks here not like a ſpeculative, but a practicke and experienced man; and reſembleth his ſeven ages, to the ſeven planets; whereof, our *Infancy* is compared unto the *Moone*, wherein wee ſeeme onely to live, and to grow as plants doe. Our *ſecond age* to *Mercurie*, in which wee are tutor'd and brought up in our firſt Alphabet and forme of diſcipline. Our *third age*, to *Venus*, the dayes of our love, daliance, vanitie. *The fourth*, to the *Sunne*, the ſhining, beautifull, glorious age of man. *The fift*, to *Mars*, in which thorow fields of blood, we hew out a way to honour and victorie, and wherein our thoughts travell to ambitious ends. Our *ſixt age*, to *Jupiter*, wherein wee begin to take a ſtrict calculation, and account of our miſ-ſpent times, and bud, and ſprout up to the perfections of our underſtandings. *The ſeventh*, and laſt, to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are ſullen, and overcaſt, in which we finde by trodden experience, and irrepairable loſſe, that our golden delights of youth, are now accompanied with vexation, ſorrow; our lackies and retinue, are but ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, which whiſpering unto us our everlaſting habitation, *and long home*, we at length paſſe unto it, with many a thorny meditation, and perplexed thought, and at laſt by the induſtrie of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſſe of a tranſitory life.

Hiſtorie of the World, lib. 1.

Seeing then our bodies are but *earthen cottages*, *houſes of duſt*, and *tenements of clay*, the *anvils* which diſeaſes and diſtempers daily hammer, and beat on; ſince our life *doth paſſe away as the trace of a cloud, and is diſperſed as a miſt driven by the beames of the Sunne, why doe wee crowne our dayes with roſe buds? why doe we fill our ſelves with voluptuouſneſſe, coſtly wines, and ointments? why ſay wee not to rottenneſſe, thou art my father? to the worme, thou art my mother, and my ſiſter?* Why doe wee pamper, and exalt this *journey-man of corruption?* this *drudge*

Wiſd. 2.

Job 17. 14.

of

of frailtie ? this *ſlave of death ?* why doe we not remember the impriſonment of the ſoule ? and that which *Cyprian* calls, *her gaole-deliverie ?* why call wee not our actions to the barre ? arraigne them ? checke them ? ſentence them ? why doe wee not ſomething that may entitle us to Religion, *while it is called to day, Foole, this night ſhall thy ſoule bee taken from thee*, this houre (perchance) this minute, nay this *punctiſtitium* of it. *Who would not ſpeedily draw water out of a river, which he knew would not continue long in its running ?* Who would not ſuddenly extract ſomewhat from thoſe wholeſome fountaines which ſhould cheriſh and refreſh the thirſtie and barren ſoule ? why doe we gaſpe, and pant, and breath for a little ayre, which nature (for a time) fann's upon us, and takes off at her pleaſure in a moment ? why ſteere we not with deſire to our *long home ?* why prepare we not for our progreſſe, ſince wee muſt needs thither ? why cruſh we not this cockatrice in the egge, and ſo foreſtall the venome of that eye whoſe darting is ſo fatall ? *Shall I beleeve* (ſayes *Seneca* to his *Lucilius*) *that fortune hath power in all things over him that liveth, and not ſuppoſe rather it can doe nothing to him that knoweth how to dye ? 'Tis not good to live, but to live well ; and therefore a wiſe man liveth as much as he ought, not as much as he can.* We ſee the frailtie of others hourely brought upon the Sceane, and how the dayly traffique of diſeaſe with us prompts us our mortalitie. Thoſe glorious bulwarkes, and fortreſſes of the ſoule, are but ſanctuaries of weakneſſe ; languiſhing, crazy, and batter'd conſtitutions, but natures warning peeces, the watch-words of a fraile body, which keep ſtrict Sentinell or'e the ſoule, leſt it ſteale from it, unawares, and ſo the great enemie both invade, and ruine it. How frequent even amongſt *Pagans* have beene their—*memento mories* — ? and *a deaths head* (you know) was a chiefe diſh at an *Ægyptian feaſt*. So ſhould that (yonder) to every recollected Chriſtian, but ſuch pre-

Seneca Epiſt. 7. ad Lucilium.

Mors.

Epiſt. 71.

presents (as those) have beene of late no great dainties with us, a service of every day, almost of every place (the whole land being little better than a Charnell-house) and wee cannot but see it, and chew on't too, if wee bee not dust already, and that flie in our eyes, and blinde us, and so the complaint of *Cyprian* whip us home—*Nolumus agnoscere, quod ignorare non possumus.*

Why should then this sad toll of mortalitie dishearten us? groanes, and sighes, and convulsions, are the bodies passing-bels, no lesse customary than naturall; and more horrid in the circumstance than the thing.—*Pompa mortis magis terret quàm mors ipsa*—, the retinue and complement of death, speake more terrour than the act. The *Adversary, the Judge, the Sentence, the Jailour, the Executioner*, more daunt the *malefactor*, than the very *stroke* and *cleft of dissolution. Are wee so foolish* (sayes the good Heathen) *to thinke death a rocke which will dash or split us in the whole; no, 'tis the Port which we ought one day to desire, never to refuse; into which* (if any have beene cast in their younger years) *they need repine no more than one which with a short cut hath ended his Navigation. For there are some, whom slacker winds mocke and detaine, and weary with the gentle tediousnesse of a peaceable calme; others swifter wafted by sudden gusts, whom life hath rather ravisht thither, than sent; which had they a time delay'd, by some flattering intermissions, yet at length, must of necessitie strucke saile to't.* Some faint-hearted *Adrian* will (to his power) linger it, and fearefully expostulate with a parting soule, as if the divorce from the bodie were everlasting, and there should not bee (one day) a more glorious contract; when an heroicke *Cannius* shall rebuke the teares in his friends cheeke, and thus bravely encounter death and him,—*Why are you sad? enquire you whether soules be immortall? I shall know presently.* Brave resolution, had it beene as Christian-like, as 'twas bold.

Seneca ad Lucil Epist. 52.

Idem Ibidem.

Quæ nunc abibis in loca, pallidula, rigida, nudula?

Againe, some effeminate *Rhodian* will rather languish under

under the grindings of a Tyrant, than ſacrifice the remainder of a famin'd bodie to an honourable death, when a confident *Hilarion* ſhall dare all thoſe griſly aſſaults, ——*Soule get thee out, thou haſt ſeventie yeeres ſerved Chriſt, and art thou now loth to dye?* Once more, ſome ſpruce *Agag*, or kem'd *Amalakite* would bee palſie-ſtrucke with an——*amara mors*——, *death is bitter, death is bitter*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 32. When a *Lubentius* and a *Maximinus* have their breſt-plate on, with a —*Domine parati ſumus*——, *We are ready to lay off our laſt garments, the fleſh*——. And indeed (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *Boughes fall from trees, and ſtones out of buildings, and why ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange that mortals dye?* Some have welcom'd death, ſome met it in the way, ſome baffel'd it, in ſickneſſes, perſecution, torments. I inſtance not in that of *Baſil* to the *Arrianated Valens*, ('tis too light) that of *Vincentius* was more remarkable, who with an unabated conſtancie, thus ſtuns the rage of his mercileſſe executioner.——*Thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit of God ſtrengthen the tormented more, than the Devill can the hands of the tormentor.* And that you may know a true Martyrdome, is not daſh't either at the expectation, or the ſenſe of torture, a *Barlaam* will hold his hand over the very flame of the Altar, and ſport out the horridneſſe of ſuch a death with that of the *Pſalmiſt*, ——*Thou haſt taught my hands to warre, and my fingers to battell.* Seeing then we are compaſs'd with ſuch a *cloud of witneſſes*, what ſhould ſcare a true Apoſtle from his--*Cupio diſſolvi*--? Let us take his reſolution and his counſell too,——*lay aſide every waight, and the ſinne that doth eaſily beſet us, and let us runne with patience the race that is ſet before us*, *Heb.* 12. 1. There is no law ſo inviolable, as this of *Nature*, that of the *Medes* and *Perſians* was but corrupt, to this——*Statutum eſt omnibus ſemel mori*——Every true Chriſtian knowes it, and feares it not ſo much out of *opinion*, as *nature*; and why ſhould *nature* doe it, ſince 'tis call'd *our home*, *our long home*, whither 'tis as certaine we

wee shall goe, as doubtfull, when; and therefore I must now presse you with *Pauls Obsecro vos tanquàm advenas*, —*I beseech you as strangers, and pilgrims upon earth*, looke not backe to the onions, and flesh-pots here; put forward for your last habitations, know you must at length to them, there is no by-way to avoid them, for —*Man goeth to his long home*—, that's my third part, the —*terminus ad quem*—, of this his travell. —*His long home.*

PARS III.

His long home.

LOng *home.* A periphrasis not of *death* so properly, as the *grave*, the *bed-chamber* of the body when 'tis dead; or rather, the bed it selfe (for so *Job* stiles it)—*Thou hast made my bed ready for mee in the darke*, deaths withdrawing roome, corruptions tyring-house, natures Golgotha, her Exchequer of rotten treasures, hid there till the day of doome, *Regia Serpentum*, (as the Sonne of *Syracke* calls it) *the randevouz of creeping things, and beasts, and wormes*, Ecclus. 10. 11.

Come hither then, thou darling of the world, thou great favourite of flesh, and blood; thou whose honours (here) are as blooming, as the Lillies, and Roses in thy youthfull cheeke; know, *Image*, though thy *head* bee of *gold*, and thy *bodie* of *silver*, thy *feet* are but of *clay*, and they will lead downe to this *chamber of death*, where thou maist behold the glory of thy ancestors, as *Augustine* did at *Rome*, that of *Cæsars* in his Sepulchre.—*An eyelesse, cheekelesse, worme-gnawne visage*; nought but *rottennesse*, and *stench*, and *wormes*, and *bones*, and *dust*, and now—*Ubi Cæsaris preclarum corpus* (saies the Father) *ubi divitiarum magnitudo? ubi caterva Baronum? ubi acies militum?*

tum ? ubi apparatus deliciarum ? ubi thalamus pictus ? ubi lectus Eburneus ? ubi regalis thronus ? ubi mutatoria vestimentorum ? ubi magnificentia ? ubi omnia ? Sibi pariter defecerunt, quando defecit spiritus, & cum in sepulchro, trium brachiorum, reliquerunt cum fœtore, & putredine---, in his 48. Sermon, *ad fratres in eremo.* Crowne, and Scepter, and Robes, and Treasure, and Sword, and Speare, and Valour, and Youth, and Honour, and (what the world could not (but now) either master or containe) his bodie, trencht in a grave of six cubites, no more, there *Cæsar* lies in earthen fetters; and so shall all dissolved bodies too, till that fearefull arraignment at the great assises. In the meane time, the soule shall bee either wafted hence into *Abrahams* bosome, or else hurried to that cave of darknesse, and everlasting horrour; no third place to purge and refine it, after death; no Romish trap-doore (through which a brib'd indulgence may presume to fetch it off at the pleasure of a cheating Consistory) but it hath here---*suum Purgatorium*---. One of their Purgatory-mongers tells mee so, nay tells a Cardinall so, and bids him pray with *Augustine*, --*Domine hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas.*

Si saltem opus illud sit Augustini.

Cupræus de 4. hom. novissimis, Serm 3. pag. 56.

Thus you see, Man is now brought to his--*long home*--, his soule gone to its place of rest; but wee may not yet interre the bodie; that we shall doe anon; some ceremony remaines to be perform'd first; for loe, how the *Mourners walke about the streets ?* That's my last part; the state, and ceremonie man meets with: in the consummation of his pilgrimage--*The mourners walke, &c.*

PARS

Pars IIII.

The Mourners, &c.

THe triumph, and honour, death challenges in the solemne interment of the deceased, hath beene a ceremonie no lesse venerable, than ancient. 'Twas almost 3000. yeeres agoe, the *Mourners* (here) *walkt about the streets*; after them those of *Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddo*, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem, mourned* for *Josiah*, 2 *Chron.* 35. before both for *Jacob*, in *Goren Atad* beyond *Jordan*----*where they mourned* (saith *Moses*) *with a great and sore lamentation*, *Gen.* 50. 10. Such a pompe, of sorrow as was a president to all posteritie; forty dayes the bodie was embalm'd, then threescore and ten more, mourned for, before the Funerall, seven after; against the day of interment all the tribes must bee summon'd, their families, their allies, and their retinue; *onely their heards, and their little ones, left in Goshen.* I read of no wife, or daughter absent, no tricke of Religion, or pretence of retired sorrow, to keep them off these publike exequies, to whine a dirge or requiem in a corner. No doubt they sadly followed the hearse even to the Sepulchre, thinking a teare wrung over a parting bed not halfe so emphaticall, as that which is dropt into the grave. Besides, *Joseph himselfe must bee sent for out of Ægypt*; no imployment at Court keepes him off these great solemnities, *but hee goes up to Canaan with all the servants of Pharaoh, and all the Elders of his house, and all the Elders of the land of Ægypt, and all his brethren, and his fathers house, and his owne too*; *and they buried him* (sayes the Text) *in the cave of the field Machpela which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre*, *Gen.* 50. 13. And indeed 'twas

Demptis 306. Annis. Salomon enim vixit anno mundi 2930. Iosiah, anno mundi 3314. Iacob 2108. Chytræus in Chronol.

a religious providence the old Patriarches had, in purchasing a possession place for their buriall, and posteritie (a long time) kept it up, even to superstition, thinking their bones never at rest, till they were laid *in the Sepulchre of their fathers*, which honourable way of interment, in these tympanous and swelling times of ours, (wherein wee warre more about matters of title, than religion) were a good meanes to preserve our names from rottennesse; if our contention, and pride, and riot, have left so much of a devour'd inheritance as will serve the dimensions of a dead body.

Some noble mansions of the kingdome (heretofore) have now, scarce, that happinesse. A greene turfe, or a weather-beaten stone, will cover that body, which (ere while) a whole Lordship could hardly cloath; and that life which swum in Tissues, and imbroideries, in death (scarce) findes a blacke to *mourne* for 't about the *streets*. Sad Hearse that hath nothing to wait on 't to the grave, but the ruines of a familie, nought to weepe ore't, but the blubbrings and languishments of a gentle blood, farre more wounding and deploreable, than the condition of some noble caitife, who rather than hee will allow death the least triumphs in his funeralls, will have his treasurie, honour, religion too (if he had any) earth'd up together in his --*Long home:* --a ditch were fitter, and some unnaturall, gouty-fisted heire would like it well; ours doth not, you see, the--*Mourners have walkt about the street*--'Tis well, and an act no lesse of *duty*, than *religion*; and those which have beene zealous in 't heretofore, have worne the two rich Epithetes of *charitable, blessed*, ---*Blessed are yee of the Lord*, (saith *David* to the men of *Jabesh Gilead*) *that you have shew'd such charitie to your master Saul, and buried him.* Buried him, is not enough, 'tis too naked and thin a ceremonie, except these *Mourners* too *walkt about the streets*. *My Sonne* (saith *Tobit*) *when I dye, burie mee honestly*, Tob. 14. 10. And *Jacob* (on his death-bed)

2 Sam. 25.

bed) conjur'd his Sonnes to interre him in a preſcript ſolemnitie, and therefore the Text ſaith, —*They buried him as they had ſworne unto their father*, Gen. 50. 6. 12. And indeed thoſe --*Officia poſtremi muneris*--(as *Auguſtine* calls them) thoſe ſolemne rites which wee ſtrew on the funerals of our deceaſed friend are no effect of courteſie, but debt, and from an able ſucceſſour, no leſſe expected than required. —*My ſonne* (ſaith *Syracides*) *poure thy teares over the dead, and neglect not their buriall*, Ecclus. 38. 66.

And therefore thoſe diſpoſitions are little below barbarous, which ſnarle at a moderate ſorrow, or decent interment of the dead, and had never ſo much learning, or at leaſt ſo much charitie, as to interpret that of the Apoſtle, —*Let all things bee done decently, and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. Had not our Saviour all the Ceremonies of this ——*Long home? the cleane linnen cloaths? the ſweet ointments? the new Sepulchre?* theſe *Mourners* (too) *about the ſtreets?* Hee then that in a wayward opinion ſhall diſallow of either, may well deſerve the honour of *Jehoiakims* funerall, which is not to bee named without pittie, and ſome ſcorne, for the Text ſaith—*he was to be buried like an Aſſe*—. And, for my part, I wiſh him the happineſſe of an *Anchoret*, his *Cell* be his *Church*, and hee himſelfe both *Prieſt* and *Graveſ-man*, not a teare to traile after him to his *long home*, nor a *Mourner* ſeene *about the ſtreets*. Jerem. 22. 19.

It hath beene a cuſtome of ſome barbarous Nations (but in this not ſo deſpicable) to howle their dead to their long home; others dropt them in with a teare onely, no more— *In ignem poſita eſt, fletur* (ſaith the Comicke.) That of the *Romanes* was too gaudy a ſorrow, and comes well home to the exceſſe of pomp in the fate of great ones, now, who though in their life time have flav'd themſelves to the world by an ignoble retrait to obſcuritie, and miſerable thrift, yet at their farewell, and

Going

Going hence, to give the times a reliſh and taſte of their generouſneſſe, the ——*Mourners ſhall walke about the ſtreets.* A monument muſt bee built, a Statue rais'd, Eſcutcheons hung, for the embalming of his honour, whoſe name (ſometimes) deſerves more rottenneſſe than his carkaſſe.

That worth is canonicall and ſtraight, which is inroll'd and regiſtred in the impartiall hearts and memories of the people, not in a perfidious Tombe-ſtone, or perjur'd Epitaph. A vertuous life is a mans beſt Pyramide.

Be thy actions unblemiſh'd, ſquar'd out to Religion, vertue, *Every heart's a Tombe, and every tongue an Epitaph.* And thus ballac'd thou need'ſt not feare any flotings of the times, any moth or *gangrene* either on thy ſtate, or name; but when death *ſhall take downe thoſe rotten ſtickes wherewith thy earthly tent is compos'd*, thy gray haires ſhall goe in peace to their long home, and the —*Mourners ſhall walke about the ſtreets.*

They have walkt now, and done their devoyer in their laſt way of ceremonie. But where's the *bodie* I promis'd you to interre? ſure *ſome Diſciple ſtole't away by night*, and laid it in its *long home*, where it is now under the bondage of corruption. But there is ſomewhat left behinde, which I would willingly preſerve from rottenneſſe, his name: to which, though I may lay ſome challenge in reſpect of blood, little of acquaintance; that, being as great a ſtranger to mee, as the paſſages of his life, or death; ſo what I ſhall ſpeake, is both *traditionarie*, and *ſhort*, very *ſhort*, thus.

Hee was a man of more reſervedneſſe than expreſſion, both in his act and word, and of the two, hee had rather doe curteſies, than profeſſe them. His outward deportment, and face of carriage (where not knowne) ſowre and rough. In his paſſions (for which he

he hath ſuffer'd ſtrangely in the cenſures of the world) ſomewhat windy and tempeſtuous, but ſuch as had authoritie onely from the tongue, not the heart, and as ſoone ore-blowne, as occaſion'd, nought elſe but a greene leafe in a flame, crackt, ſparkled, and ſo out. His rule of friendſhip the beſt, not popular, but choice, and there too, where it found truth, no gloſſe; there unſhooke, nobly-conſtant, his both in his heart, and in his purſe; not in his purſe, (as *Seneca* writes of *Sicilius*, *where nought could bee extracted but an hundred upon an hundred*) or as your *Hackney* Mynrmen for the moſt part doe, *ten upon the ſame number*, but that trebled, many times, for nothing, as the clemencie of ſome unperſecuting ſcroles can teſtifie. His contribution, and benevolence in way of almes, rather powr'd out, than given, as if povertie had beene the object of his profuſeneſſe, not of his releeſe; yet that without froth of oſtentation, without reference to merit, on the grounds of a true charity. His Religion (wherein the world thought hee had wav'd and totter'd) upon his accounts to God, and his inlargements and declarations to his friends, on his death-bed, faſt to the Church of *England*; which, (though in the laſt act) was beleager'd by ſome emaſculate ſuggeſtions, yet bleſſed bee the circumſpection of a carefull Sonne, it ſtood unbatter'd, and in that loyaltie and ſtrength, hee penitently gave up his ſoule into the hands of his Redeemer.

And now hee is gone, let his imperfections follow, and the memorie of them rot, and moulder with his bodie; hee had many, ſome prevalent; and (~~good Lord~~) ~~which of us have not in a large pro~~portion! But they are our *earthy* and *duſty*, and *aſhie* part, ſo they were his; let them bee buried with him; ſhovell them into his grave; *Earth to earth*, *aſhes to aſhes*, *duſt to duſt*; let them ſpring no more,

to the ſoyling and diſhonour of his name, or our owne uncharitableneſſe, but let his aſhes reſt in peace; for hee is now —*Gone to his long home, and the mourners have walkt for him about the ſtreets.*

Gloria in excelſis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.